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TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

VOL. XXXIV: PART III.

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SUMMARIZED CATALOGUE

OF THE

POSTAGE STAMPS

OF

JAPAN

BY

A. M. TRACEY WOODWARD.

1906.

East Asiatic L

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PREFACE.

The work which I propose to bring before you, is a simple tabulated record of the Postage Stamps issued by Japan from the date of the reformed Postal System until recently. In describing the stamps in detail, I may somewhat tax your patience with explanations of papers, perforations, etc. Such details interest more the philatelist than the ordinary reader, but the work has necessarily had to be concentrated in this direction.

In describing the compound perforations, I have not followed the usual course of mentioning the top and bottom perforations first, and the side perforations last, but have placed them in rotative order beginning with the widest, thus :—

No.		Top and Bottom		at Sides	Mentioned as			
349	2 *sen* Drab ...	9½	×	9	9	×	9½	*m/m.*
353	„ ...	11	×	9	9	×	11	„
363	„ ...	12½	×	9½	9½	×	12½	„
380	„ ...	11	×	12½	11	×	12½	„
383	„ ...	11½	×	11½	11½	×	11½	„
391	„ ...	12½	×	13	12½	×	13	„
397	„ ...	13½	×	13½	13½	×	13½	„

Also in mentioning Japanese characters, instead of writing them from right to left as they generally appear on the stamps, I have adopted the modern innovation that when such Japanese characters serve as illustrations in foreign literature, they are written from left to right.

I refrain from referring to Post Cards, Envelopes, and Bands, as I consider these to belong to an entirely distinct category from adhesives.

The many difficulties presented by such a variety of subjects and its extremely complicated nature from a philatelic standpoint, make me well aware that this monograph will have many defects, and not be a complete description of all existing Japanese Postage Stamps, I must, therefore, ask the reader's kind indulgence for any inaccuracies and omissions that may possibly occur, though my investigations have covered about a score of years.

I may mention that Japanese literature on philately is practically nil, the only work coming under my notice is the *Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin Kitte Enkakushi** a pamphlet issued by the Printing Bureau of the Department of Communications during March, 1896. This I have consulted for official dates and other data. Exotic particulars are confined to meagre statements that contribute to make up catalogues of certain American, and Continental dealers in general postage stamps.

I have to acknowledge my grateful indebtedness to Mr. Itaro Kusaka, Superintendent of Foreign Mails at Kobe, for certain dates and numbers of Departmental Ordinances.

A. M. T. W.

* History of the Postage Stamps of Japan.

A Summarized Catalogue of the Postage Stamps of Japan.

BY

A. M. TRACEY WOODWARD.

Although not a history of the Japanese Post Office, still a few notes on that institution by way of introductory remarks may prove of interest.

The transmission of despatches by couriers in Japan may be said to have begun in the Middle Ages. Only despatches of the Shōgunate were thus forwarded however, and it was not until early in the sixteenth century that commuication between private individuals were considered so important as to necessitate the establishment of reliable postal guilds in the principal towns of the Empire. These were mostly in the hands of private agencies known as *Hikyaku-yas*, whose means of carriage were generally confined to couriers. Later, provincial and urban postal institutions sprang up, but naturally, they possessed many defects. It was to do away with these disadvantages that the Government formally opened on the 1st March, 1871, a letter post service between Tōkyō, Yokohama, Kyōto and Ōsaka. The system was modelled upon those that at the time were in vogue in America and Europe, and the first set of four postage stamps was issued on the day the new

scheme went into operation, whilst postal regulations were promulgated, and the provincial authorities entrusted with the superintendence of the business connected with the new service.

Previous to these innovations, the Civil Government had laid before the Central Government a proposition recorded in the *Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin Kitte Enkakushi* as follows :—
"The public recognize the great importance of the establish-
"ment of a regular postal system in this country. Up to the
"present time messages and letters are still entrusted to private
"messengers or carriers and heavy fees are charged for them.
"This causes the public to regret the want of arrangements for
"facilitating the means of communication. If, at the present
"time, the Government would organize a postal system and
"thus facilitate communications both for the public and for
"private individuals, it would be greatly conducive to the
"public benefit."

Early in 1872, the newly instituted postal route was extended to Kōbe, Nagasaki, Niigata and Hakodate.

Very soon the necessity of providing means of communication with foreign lands arising from the growing tendency of international intercourse, led the Government (at the instance of H.E. Mitsu Mayeshima, the then General Post-master who had visited England to study the postal system) to perfect arrangements with the United States of America, British, and French postal agencies that then existed at Yokohama, Kōbe and Nagasaki for the transmission of foreign mails in foreign bottoms. This convention came into force in March, 1872. During the following year, however, the Government sent Mr. S. M. Bryan, then in the service of the Japanese Post Office Department, over to the United States of America to conclude arrangements for the direct exchange of mails. This resulted in the signing of a Postal Convention between the two countries which became effective on the 1st January, 1875, on which date the United States of America withdrew its Postsl agencies in Japan.

During 1876, H.E. Shuzō Aoki, at the time Japanese Minister to the court of Germany, urged the Imperial Government to become a party to the General Postal Union convention. The recommendation was favorably considered and acted upon, Japan being formally admitted into the General Postal Union (now l'Union Postale Universelle) on June 20th, 1877.

Excellent progress in the service was made, which obtained confidence abroad, with the consequent discontinuance of the postal agencies of Great Britain on December 31st, 1880, and those of France three months later. To Viscount Nomura who visited Germany to study the postal system, great credit is due for the many improvements inaugurated in the Japanese service, while the late Signor Chiossone when adviser to the Printing Bureau, designed the greater part of the stamps of Japan.

These few words of description on the development of the Postal service in Japan will be sufficient for my purpose, and I will abstain from giving statistics bearing on the mail matter handled by the Post Office. Suffice it to say that this institution to-day shows satisfactory progress, its ramifications extending to the most remote districts.

March 1871 Issue.

It was on the 2nd June 1870, that the decision to issue postage stamps was first adopted. This was consequent upon the petition made by the Civil to the Central Government, but it was not until the 1st March 1871 that the actual issue of Japanese stamps was made; it consisted of four values. The design is native, two outlined dragons being circumscribed within a Greek border; the value in Japanese characters is placed in the centre between the dragons and reads *zeni hyaku mon* (錢百文), *zeni ni hyaku mon* (錢二百文), etc.; these characters were printed separately in black type. The stamps were engraved in *taille douce* on Japanese handmade

wove or laid paper in sheets of 40 stamps printed in five horizontal rows of eight stamps each, all differing more or less one from the other in various details, they are unperforated, ungummed, and square, the average size being 19¾ × 19¾ *m/m.* Two plates of the lowest denomination are known to exist, and one plate each of the higher values. During February, 1872, the issue was countermanded, and on November 30th 1889, their use through the mails was prohibited.

SECTION I.—Thin yellowish wove native handmade paper.

No.	1	48	*Mon*	Brown.
,,	2	100	,,	Dark blue.
,,	3	200	,,	Vermillion.
,,	4	500	,,	Green.
,,	5	500	,,	Blue green.
,,	6	500	,,	Yellow green.

SECTION II.—Thin yellowish, close vertically laid native handmade paper, greatly resembling the *quadrille* paper.

No.	7	48	*Mon*	Pale brown.
,,	8	48	,,	Red brown.
,,	9	48	,,	Dark brown.
,,	10	100	,,	Pale blue.
,,	11	100	,,	Blue.
,,	12	200	,,	Vermillion.
,,	13	200	,,	Dark vermillion.
,,	14	500	,,	Pale yellow green.
,,	15	500	,,	Green.
,,	16	500	,,	Deep blue green.

An important London stamp dealer notes a variety of the 500 *mon* described as pale blue green, but I am of opinion that this shade does not exist, the mistake probably arising from faded specimens of the green denoted under No. 16.

SECTION III.—Thin yellowish, wide vertically laid, native handmade paper, slightly varying in thickness.

No.	17	48	*Mon*	Pale brown.
„	18	48	„	Brown.
„	19	48	„	Dark brown.
„	20	100	„	Pale blue.
„	21	100	„	Dark blue.
„	22	200	„	Vermillion.
„	23	200	„	Dark vermillion.
„	24	500	„	Pale yellow green.
„	25	500	„	Green.
„	26	500	„	Blue green.

February 1872 Issue.

When the decimal system of currency was introduced in 1872, it was decided on January 18th of that year, that a corresponding alteration should be made in the value of stamps; the 48 *mon* becomming ½ *sen*, the 100 *mon* 1 *sen*, 200 *mon* 2 *sen* and 500 *mon* 5 *sen*. These four new varieties were issued during February 1872 but the ½ *sen* was stopped on September 1st of the same year, the 1 and 2 *sen* on 20th. July 1872, and 5 *sen* on 31st May, 1873, when, on these respective dates, new stamps were substituted for the three lowest denominations only; their validity to prepay postage was cancelled on the 30th of November, 1899. The design is practically identical with the preceding issue, the black characters denoting the value in the sentre of the stamps, only being altered to *ni sen* (貳錢), *go sen* (五錢), etc., antique numerals are used in the 1 and 2 *sen* in contradistinction to the previous issue, very likely to prevent forgery. Messrs. H. Collin and H. L. Calman declare that there are six plates of this issue in existance, two for each of the lower values, and one for each of the higher ones, whilst Mr. Moens says that

there was a third plate engraved for the half *sen*; it is generally recognized that the old plates of the 48 *mon* and 100 *mon* were utilized for one of the ½ *sen* and 1 *sen*, but Mr. Moens, however, mentions having seen only the plate of the 100 *mon* so used. Similarly with the previous issue, each sheet is composed of forty stamps in five horizontal rows of eight stamps each varying in details one from the other, as they were separately engraved. The stamps are square, of the same size as the March 1871 issue, and are with and without gum, and perforated.

SECTION I.—Thin yellowish wove native paper, slightly varying in thickness.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No.	27	½ *sen*	Red brown.
„	28	1 „	Pale blue.
„	29	2 „	Vermillion.
„	30	5 „	Yellowgreen.
„	31	5 „	Pale yellow green.

2° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„	32	½ *sen*	Red brown.
„	33	1 „	Pale blue.
„	34	2 „	Vermillion.
„	35	5 „	Yellow green.

3° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„	36	½ *sen*	Gray brown.

SECTION II.—Thick yellowish woolly wove native paper.

1° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

No.	37	½ *sen*	Dark brown.

Stanley Gibbons Limited gave the color of this last as Red brown, but Dark brown is undoubtedly nearer to its shade.

Of late many specialists are inclined to favor the theory that the so called wovepaper is nothing else than the laid paper with lines not shewing distinctly; the two papers in wove and laid were, however, separately used in printing this issue, nor will a good application of refined deodorized benzine make the wove paper show any lines.

SECTION III.—Thin yellowish, close vertically laid native paper.

1° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 38 ½ *sen* Red brown.

2° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 39 ½ *sen* Gray brown.
„ 40 1 „ Pale blue.
„ 41 2 „ Vermillion.

3° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 42 ½ *sen* Gray brown.
„ 43 ½ „ Red brown.
„ 44 ½ „ Deep brown.
„ 45 1 „ Pale blue.
„ 46 2 „ Vermillion.
„ 47 5 „ Pale blue.
„ 48 5 „ Yellow green.
„ 49 5 „ Blue green.

4° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 50 ½ *sen* Gray brown.
„ 51 1 „ Pale blue.
„ 52 1 „ Blue green.

I have never seen this 1 *sen* Blue green chronicled, but I have possessed a specimen which I subjected to chemical tests, when, the color remained perfectly intact; I believe it to be an error, made doubtless while printing the 5 *sen* Blue green.

5° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No.	53	½ *sen*	Red brown.
„	54	½ „	Deep brown.
„	55	½ „	Gray brown.
„	56	1 „	Pale blue.
„	57	5 „	Pale blue.
„	58	5 „	Blue green.

SECTION IV.—Thin yellowish wide vertically laid native paper.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No.	59	½ *sen*	Deep brown.
„	60	1 „	Pale blue.

SECTION V.—Thin yellowish close vertically laid native paper, *batonne* horizontally.

1° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

No.	61	½ *sen*	Red brown.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„	62	½ *sen*	Gray brown.
„	63	½ „	Red brown.
„	64	½ „	Deep brown.
„	65	1 „	Pale blue.
„	66	2 „	Vermillion.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„	67	½ *sen*	Red brown.

4° Perforated 11 × 12 *m/m.*

„	68	½ *sen*	Red brown.

5° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„	69	½ *sen*	Deep brown.
„	70	½ „	Red brown.
„	71	½ „	Gray brown.

A No. 1

A No. 2

A No. 3

A No. 4

A No. 5

A No. 6

A No. 7

A No. 8

A No. 9

A No. 10

Mr. Evans chronicles in this issue a 5 *sen* yellow green, on very thick heavy laid paper, whether close or wide vertically laid, he does not say, other authorities, however, disregard this statement.

There are two "Government counterfeits" in this series, the 1 *sen* and 2 *sen;* they were printed in March 1896 to serve to illustrate these stamps in the *Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin Kitte Enkakushi* (大日本帝國郵便切手沿革志). They are finer productions than those off the original plates and easily distinguishable, modern engraving conspiciously predominating. The paper is wove and perfectly white, whilst the color of the 1 *sen* is pale gray blue, and the 2 *sen* of a pale vermillion shade approximating to orange; they are ungummed and unperforated. Only about 50 copies of each are believed to exist.

"GOVERNMENT COUNTERFEITS."—Thin pure white wove foreign paper.

No.	72	1 *sen*	Pale gray blue.
„	73	2 „	Pale orange vermillion.

July 1872 Issue.

We have Government authority for the fact that owing to the plates of the 1 *sen* and 2 *sen* of February, 1872 issue being worn out, two new designs of similar value were issued on July 20th 1872 in lieu thereof. This seemingly confirms the above statement that the old plates of the 48 *mon* and 100 *mon* were utilized for printing the ½ *sen* and 1 *sen* respectively issued during February.

Engraved in *taille douce* on various papers, the stamps are oblong measuring 19×22 ½ *m/m*. Nine plates of the 1 *sen* and two of the 2 *sen* are known to exist, each plate being composed of forty stamps in five horizontal rows of eight stamps each, and being separately engraved, are thus different one from the other in minor details. The issue of the 1 *sen* was stopped

on February 4th 1875 whilst that of the 2 *sen* ceased on June 5th 1873, the validity of both to prepay postage was cancelled on the 30th November, 1889. The design represents two boughs crossed below at the end of the stems, on the left a stem of crysanthemums and on the right a branch of paulownia imperialis; the crysanthemum crest (菊紋) appearing above between the two ends; in the centre is inscribed *Yubin Kitte* (郵便切手); each croner consists of a cherry flower; in the top frame "1 SEN" and at the sides the value in Japanese characters in small squares on a mosaic ground.

SECTION I.—Thin yellowish wove native paper.

1° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m*

No. 74 2 *sen* Vermillion.

2° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 75 2 *sen* Vermillion.

3° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 76 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 77 1 „ Dark blue.
„ 78 2 „ Vermillion.
„ 79 2 „ Rosy vermillion.

4° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 80 2 *sen* Vermillion.

5° Perforated 11 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 81 2 *sen* Vermillion.

6° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 82 1 „ Blue.
„ 83 1 „ Dark blue.
„ 84 2 „ Vermillion.
„ 85 2 „ Rosy vermillion.

7° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

No. 86 1 *sen* Dark blue.
„ 87 2 „ Vermillion.

8° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 88 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 89 1 „ Dark blue.
„ 90 2 „ Vermillion.
„ 91 2 „ Rosy vermillion.

9° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 92 1 *sen* Blue.

10° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 93 2 *sen* Rosy vermillion.

SECTION II.—Thick yellowish wove native paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 94 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 95 1 „ Dark blue.

2° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 96 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 97 1 „ Dark blue.

3° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 98 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 99 1 „ Dark blue.

The varieties in this section are comparatively scarce stamps.

SECTION III.—Thin yellowish horizontally laid native paper, *vergeures* varying in width.

1° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 100 1 *sen* Blue.

2° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

No. 101 2 *sen* Deep rosy vermillion.

3° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 102 2 *sen* Deep rosy vermillion.

4° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 103 1 *sen* Pale blue.
„ 104 1 „ Blue.
„ 105 1 „ Dark blue.
„ 106 2 „ Rosy vermillion.
„ 107 2 „ Deep rosy vermillion.

5° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 108 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 109 2 „ Vermillion.

6° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 110 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 111 1 „ Dark blue.
„ 112 2 „ Vermillion.
„ 113 2 „ Rosy vermillion.

7° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 114 1 *sen* Blue.
„ 115 1 „ Dark blue.
„ 116 2 „ Vermillion.
„ 117 2 „ Rosy vermillion.

8° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 118 2 *sen* Rosy vermillion.

9° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 119 2 *sen* Rosy vermillion.

A No. 11

A No. 12

A No. 13

A No. 14

A No. 15

A No. 16

A No. 17

A No. 18

A No. 19

A No. 20

September 1872 Issue.

Owing to the extension that took place in the postal routes to Kōbe, Nagasaki, Niigata and Hokodate, the public demand for stamps greatly increased, and the want of higher denominations proved to be the source of great inconvenience to the public; in consequence, a new issue of 10 *sen*, 20 *sen* and 30 *sen* stamps in more elaborate design than heretofore, was made on September 1st, 1872. On this occasion a ½ *sen* stamp was issued in the design of the July, 1872 issue; these four new stamps were suppressed on February 4th, 1875. Engraved in *taille douce*, each plate is composed of forty stamps in five horizontal rows of eight stamps each; of the ½ *sen* there are four plates, whilst the 10, 20 and 30 *sen* have one plate each. The sizes are, ½ *sen* 19 × 22½ *m/m.*, 10 *sen* 21 × 24 *m/m.*, 20 *sen* 22½ × 25½ *m/m.*, and 30 *sen* 24 × 27 *m/m.* I have already mentioned that the ½ *sen* is of same design as the 2 *sen* issued in July 1872; the others are somewhat similar with only slight varietions; the 10 *sen* instead of having two boughs in a semi-circle in the middle of the stamp, has two fabulous animals facing each other; in the top and bottom frames, "10 SEN," and at the sides the same value in Japanese characters in oblong spaces on a lattice ground; the 20 *sen* consists of a ring in the centre with the addition of a paulownia crest (桐紋) below, diametrically opposite to the crysanthemum crest (菊紋); the value is placed in the same position as the 10 *sen*, whilst the ground work in the side frames consists of vertical lines; the general appearance of the 30 *sen* differs slightly from the 2 *sen* July 1872 issue, the only alteration being the side frames that are in plain white ground. All these stamps bear: the inscription *Yubin Kitte* (郵便切手) in the centre, and have different corner ornamentations within the centre square.

SECTION I.—Thin yellowish wove native paper.

1° Perforated 9½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 120 10 *sen* Blue green.

2° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 121 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 122 10 „ Blue green.
„ 123 20 „ Lilac.
„ 124 20 „ Dark mauve.
„ 125 30 „ Gray.

3° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 126 10 *sen* Blue green.

4° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 127 10 *sen* Blue green.
„ 128 10 „ Pale yellow green.

5° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 129 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 130 10 „ Pale yellow green.

6° Perforated 11 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 131 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 132 20 „ Dark mauve.

7° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 133 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 134 10 „ Blue green.
„ 135 20 „ Lilac.
„ 136 20 „ Dark mauve.
„ 137 30 „ Gray.

8° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 138 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 139 10 „ Blue green.

9° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

No. 140 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 141 10 „ Blue green.
„ 142 10 „ Deep green.
„ 143 20 „ Dark mauve.
„ 144 30 „ Gray.

10° Perforated 12 × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 145 20 *sen* Dark mauve.

11° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 146 30 *sen* Gray.

The ½ *sen* Bistre has also been perforated double on one side, but copies of this variety are exceedingly scarce.

VARIETY.

No. 147 ½ *sen* Bistre double perforation at one side.

SECTION II.—Thick wove paper, the ½ *sen* is on native and the 30 *sen* on foreign paper.

1° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

No. 148 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 149 30 „ Gray.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 150 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 151 ½ „ Ash.

3° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 152 ½ *sen* Bistre.

4° Perforated 12½ × 13 *m/m.*

„ 153 30 *sen* Gray.

Although the 30 *sen* stamp is classified under the date September 1872 issue, it is doubtful whether this stamp on

foreign wove paper was issued prior to February 1874, since we have it officially that it was only at this latter time that the use of foreign papers for the manufacture of stamps began; the above view would seemingly be correct, if the searcity of this stamp be also taken into consideration; this rarity can be accounted for by the fact that during the same month of February 1874, a new plate with a syllabic character was engraved which was immediately issued; doubtless only very few sheets of the 30 *sen* on European paper without the syllabic character were at the time printed.

SECTION III.—Thin horizontally laid native paper.

1° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

No. 154 ½ *sen* Bistre.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 155 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 156 10 „ Pale yellow green.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 157 10 *sen* Pale yellow green.

4° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 158 10 *sen* Pale yellow green.
„ 159 20 „ Lilac.

Of all the stamps of Japan, this 20 *sen* Lilac on laid paper is undoubtedly the *rara avis;* I have only known of four copies to exist, and have seen only one. Fifteen years ago, a collector who had long resided at Ōsaka, sold the only copy he ever obtained to a collector in London for 25 guineas, but this was, certainly, even at that time, for below its real market value. It is extremely probable that when printing, one sheet of the thin horizontally laid native paper intended for the use of the ½ and 10 *sen,* was erroneously allowed to slip in among the thin wove native paper, this sheet being eventually sent out

in the usual course of distribution of stamps; no unused copies are known to exist. Assuming my theory to be correct, it will thus be observed that originally, only forty stamps were printed, and if one were to take into consideration the destruction of old correspondence, coupled with the fact that the Japanese people have taken little interest in stamp collecting, especially during the seventies, so as to be actuated with the desire of preserving old stamps, it can be fairly estimated that probably not more than half a dozen copies are in existence to-day.

There is another variety in this series which deserves special mention, it is the ½ *sen* bistre. In one of the four plates, the 23rd stamp was erroneously left incomplete during the process of engraving; on the left hand borders the two slanting strokes at the top of the Japanese character *han* of *han sen* (半錢) are absent, this makes the reading *Ki sen* (十錢) on one side and *han sen* (半錢) on the other. This peculiarity has led native dealers to give it the appelation of *Kisen.* Various authorities agree that it exists on both thin wove and laid paper, but I have seen it on thick wove paper as well.

ERROR.

SECTION I.—Thin wove native paper.

Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 160 ½ *sen* Bistre.
„ 161 ½ „ Dark bistre.

SECTION II.—Thick wove paper.

Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

No. 162 ½ *sen* Bistre.

SECTION III.—Thin horizontally laid native paper.

Perforated ?

No. 163 ½ *sen* Bistre.

April 1873 Issue.

For the convenience of the public, a stamp of the new value of 4 *sen* was issued on 1st April 1873 by Finance Department notification No. 120 dated 30th March 1873, the stamp was suppressed on 4th February 1875. The type, impression, etc. are identical to the July 1872 issue. Seven plates have been discovered to exist, and like the preceding issues, each plate is composed of forty stamps in five horizontal rows of eight stamps each, each stamp measuring 19 × 22½ *m/m.*

SECTION I.—Thin yellowish native wove paper.

1° Perforated 10 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 164 4 *sen* Pale rose.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 165 4 *sen* Pale rose.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 166 4 *sen* Pale rose.

4° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 167 4 *sen* Pale rose.

SECTION II.—Thin yellowish native laid paper.

1° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

No. 168 4 *sen* Pale rose.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 169 4 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 170 4 „ Bright rose.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 171 4 *sen* Pale rose.

A No. 21

A No. 22

A No. 23

A No. 24

A No. 25

A No. 26

A No. 27

A No. 28

A No. 29

A No. 30

A No. 31

A No. 32

4° Perforated 11 × 12 *m/m.*

No. 172 4 *sen* Pale rose.

5° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 173 4 *sen* Pale rose.

6° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 174 4 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 175 4 „ Bright rose.

SECTION III.—Thick European wove paper:

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 176 4 *sen* Pale rose.

2° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 177 4 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 178 4 „ Bright rose.

Like the 30 *sen* gray September 1872 issue, this 4 *sen* on thick European wove paper, can be positively asserted not to have been issued previous to February 1874.

June 1873 Issue.

The simultaneous use of two stamps of different denomination in the same color and design, viz., the 2 *sen* Rosy vermillion of the July 1872 issue, and 4 *sen* pale rose just described, often led the officials of the Post Office to confound one with the other, hence an alteration in the color of the former, which was transformed into yellow, the issue taking place on the 5th June 1873 by Notification No. 127 of the Finance Department, and was in turn suppressed on the 17th May 1876. The type and impression remained the same, also the number and order of rows on the plates, of which three differing from the July 1872 issue are known to sxist, thus making five plates in all.

SECTION I.—Thin yellowish native wove paper.

1° Perforated 10½ × 12½ *m/m.*

No. 179 2 *sen* Yellow.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 180 2 *sen* Yellow.
„ 181 2 „ Orange.

3° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 182 2 „ Yellow.

A New York dealer recently catalogued one of these 2 *sen* yellow on thick wove paper, but it is a question if this paper has ever been used, many authorities ignoring this statement, nor have I ever seen a specimen of this supposed variety.

SECTION II.—Thin yellowish native laid paper.

1° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

No. 183 2 *sen* Yellow.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 184 2 *sen* Yellow.
„ 185 2 „ Deep yellow.
„ 186 2 „ Orange.
„ 187 2 „ Greenish yellow.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 188 2 *sen* Yellow

4° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 189 2 *sen* Orange.

The 2 *sen* orange on this paper has also been perforated double on one side, copies are, however, not easily obtainable.

VARIETY.

No. 190 2 *sen* Yellow double perforation at one side.

SECTION III.—Thick woolly native laid paper.

1° Perforated 9½ × 11 *m/m.*

No. 191 2 *sen* Yellow.

January 1874 Issue.

On the adoption of a uniform rate of postage, the necessity of a stamp of the value of 6 *sen* became apparent, and on the 1st January 1874, an adhesive of that denomination was issued by Notification No. 395 of the Finance Department; its suppression took place on the 4th, February of the following year. It is engraved in *taille douce* on various papers, and only one plate consisting of forty stamps in five horizontal rows of eight stamps each was made; each stamp differs one from the other in minor details, having been separately engraved. The design is entirely new and original; a garter enclosing ornamental grouud-work, with the crysanthemum crest exactly in the centre, at the sides of this, the inscription (郵便切手) *Yubin Kitte* appers; the four corners are filled with floral ornaments; the value "6 SEN" is placed at the top and bottom within the ribbon of the garter, the same in the vernacular being inscribed at the sides; the shape is oblong, the stamp measuring 20 × 22½ *m/m.*

During 1874, stamps were issued with on additional small character taken from the *katakana* syllabary; these marks are generally known in Europe and America as syllabic characters, and they correspond to what philatelists term plate numbers, somewhat similar to the system adopted by Great Britain on her early issues. The purpose of changing the letters after a certain number of impressions had been taken, was to facilitate the control of checking the number of stamps issued, and in the case of Japanese postage stamps, after 10000 with one character had been printed, the plate then underwent a change by the substitution of a different character. The *Dai Nihon Tei-*

koku Yubin Kitte Enkakushi (大日本帝國郵便切手沿革志) states that the adoption of the *katakana* syllabary on stamps began on September 12th 1874 in consequence of Notification No. 96 issued on the same day by the Home Department. Whilst this statement is official, it is open to donbt if the introduction of this control system did not anticipate Notification No. 96, for, we learn from the same official source that the 6 *sen* stamp was issued on January 1st 1874, and yet this stamp has not been issued without the syllabic character, which is placed a little below the buckle of the garter; it is difficult to reconcile this statement with the one declaring that the adoption of the *katakana* syllabary on stamps was made on September 12th 1874.

SECTION I.—Thin native wove paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 192 6 *sen* Violet brown.

Syllabic characters: イロハニホヘトチリヌル

SECTION II.—Thin native laid paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 193 6 *sen* Violet brown.

2° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 194 6 *sen* Violet brown.

Syllabic characters: イロハニホヘトチリヌルヲ

There are a few copies of this stamp existing with double perforation at one side, they are rare varieties, and have the character ホ

VARIETY.

No. 195 6 *sen* Violet brown double perforation at one side.

February 1874 Issue.

Seven denominations comprise this emission, which may be called the characterized series of the stamps used since July 1872, differing from them only in that the syllabic characters were added to their faces; the designs of the 1 and 2 *sen* are similar to those of July 1872, of the ½, 10, 20 and 30 *sen* to those of September 1872, of the 4 *sen* to that of April 1873, and of the 6 *sen* to that of January 1874; the character in the ½, 1, 2 and 4 *sen* stamps will be found in a small square where the stems of the floral branches cross each other, whilst in the 30 *sen* stamp, the square changes into an oval; in the 10 and 20 *sen* stamps the character is placed in a square just above the value in foreign letters at the bottom of the stamp. The ½ *sen* has three plates, the 4 *sen* two, and the other denominations only one plate each.

SECTION I.—Thin native laid paper.

1° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

No. 196 30 *sen* Slate.

2° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 197 2 *sen* Yellow.

3° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 198 2 *sen* Yellow.
„ 199 10 „ Green.
„ 200 20 „ Violet.
„ 201 30 „ Slate.

4° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 202 2 *sen* Yellow.
„ 203 10 „ Green.
„ 204 20 „ Violet.
„ 205 30 „ Slate.

5° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

No.	206	2 *sen*	Yellow.
„	207	10 „	Green.
„	208	20 „	Violet.
„	209	30 „	Slate.

Syllabic characters: 2 *sen* 人多
10 „ 人
20 „ 人口小
30 „ 人

SECTION II.—Thick European white wove paper.

1° Perforated 9½ × 10 m/m.

No.	210	4 *sen*	Claret rose.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„	211	½ *sen*	Brown.
„	212	1 „	Blue.
„	213	2 „	Canary yellow.
„	214	4 „	Claret rose.
„	215	6 „	Violet brown.
„	216	10 „	Green.
„	217	20 „	Mauve.
„	218	30 „	Gray.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„	219	1 *sen*	Blue.
„	220	2 „	Canary yellow.

4° Perforated 11 × 12 *m/m.*

„	221	6 *sen*	Violet brown.

5° Perforated 11 × 12½ *m/m.*

„	222	2 *sen*	Canary yellow.
„	223	10 „	Green.

6° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No.	224	½ *sen*	Brown.
„	225	1 „	Blue.
„	226	2 „	Canary yellow.
„	227	4 „	Claret rose.
„	228	6 „	Violet brown.
„	229	10 „	Green.
„	230	20 „	Mauve.
„	231	30 „	Gray.

7° Perforated 11½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„	232	½ *sen*	Brown.
„	233	1 „	Blue.

8° Perforated 11½ × 13 *m/m.*

„	234	10 *sen*	Green.

9° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„	235	6 *sen*	Violet brown.

10° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„	236	½ *sen*	Brown.
„	237	1 „	Blue.
„	238	2 „	Canary yellow.
„	239	6 „	Violet brown.
„	240	10 „	Green.
„	241	20 „	Mauve.
„	242	30 „	Gray.

11° Perforated 12½ × 13 *m/m.*

„	243	1 *sen*	Blue.
„	244	6 „	Violet brown.
„	245	10 „	Green.

12° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„	246	½ *sen*	Brown.

No. 247 2 *sen* Canary yellow.
„ 248 10 „ Green.

Syllabic characters:

½ *sen* イロ
1 „ イロハニホヘトチリヌルヲ
2 „ イロハニホヘトチリヌルヲワカヨタレソツネナラム
4 „ イ
6 „ ヌルワカヨタレソ
10 „ イロハ
20 „ ニホ
30 „ イ

January 1875 Issue.

When the postal convention between the United States of America and Japan was concluded, three new stamps for use in the foreign mails were issued on the 1st January 1875, although Notification No. 1 of the Home Department by which this set was announced, is dated January 4th 1875. The value are, 12 *sen*, 15 *sen* and 45 *sen*; the designs are entirely different from the former series, each stamp being iliustrated by a different bird on a colored groundwork figuring for land, the whole encircled by a ring, the 45 *sen* represents an eagle in the acts of spreading its wings; over the circle, in a band, is inscribed 郵便切手 (*Yubin Kitte*) the *Kiku* crest appearing between the letters of *Yubin* and *Kitte*, in both sides of the ring the value in the vernacular appears, and at the top and bottom the value in foreign letters, the syllabic character is placed at the extreme bottom of the circle between two upright lines thus forming a square; this square stands between the numerals of value and the word SEN, the remaining portions of the stamp outside the circle are filled with various ornamentations. The 12 and 15 *sen* ceased to be issued on June 29th 1877, and the

45 *sen* on the 18th August the same year. They are engraved in *taille douce* on ordinary foreign wove paper with one exception. There is only one plate for each value and each sheet consists of forty stamps in five horizontal rows of eight stamps each. Size 19½ × 22½ *m/m.*

SECTION I.—Ordinary foreign white wove paper.

1° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 249 45 *sen* Crimson lake.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 250 12 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 251 15 „ Mauve.
„ 252 45 „ Crimson lake.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 253 15 *sen* Mauve.

4° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 254 12 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 255 15 „ Mauve.
„ 256 45 „ Crimson lake.

5° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 257 12 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 258 15 „ Mauve.
„ 259 45 „ Crimson lake.

6° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 260 12 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 261 15 „ Mauve.
„ 262 45 „ Crimson lake.

7° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 263 12 *sen* Pale rose.

No. 264 15 *sen* Mauve.
„ 265 45 „ Crimson lake.

Syllabic characters: 12 *sen* ꯁ ꯄ ꯅ
15 „ ꯁ ꯄ ꯅ
45 „ ꯁ ꯄ ꯅ

SECTION II.—Ordinary foreign white laid paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 266 15 *sen* Mauve with only syllabic character ꯁ

February 1875 Issue.

In accordance with the suggestion made by the Government Printing Office to show better colors in the higher face values, seven new stamps were issued on February 4th 1875 by Home Department Notification No. 16, and were substituted for those in use until then. The new series comprised the ½ *sen*, 1 *sen*, 4 *sen*, 6 *sen*, 10 *sen*, 20 *sen* and 30 *sen* denominations. The impression is similar to those issued during 1874, but the 10, 20 and 30 *sen* are reduced in size to 19½ × 22 *m/m*, thus bringing the series into greater uniformity. All have syllabic characters in the places already described, with the exception of the 6 *sen*, which, beginning with the letter ꯅ, is placed at the bottom of the stamp within a small oval directly under the letter S of the word "S E N"; this oval replaces the first small hole in the strap of the garter. The ½, 1, 4, 6 and 20 *sen* have two plates each, and the 10 and 30 *sen* only one, all consisting of forty varieties as in the preceding emissions and engraved in *taille douce* These stamps were suppressed in the following order, ½ and 1 *sen* on May 17th 1876, 4 *sen* on June 23rd 1876, 6 and 10 *sen* on June 29th 1877, 20 and 30 *sen* on August 18th 1877. Concurrently with the above, the 1 *sen* and 4 *sen* were printed, forty varieties to the sheet, in identical design, but without any syllabic character, the stems of the

A No. 33

A No. 34

A No. 35

A No. 36

A No. 37

A No. 38

A No. 39

A No. 40

A No. 41

branches being simply crossed as in the July 1872 series. This type of the 1 *sen* has only one plate, the 4 *sen* four, of which three were utilized in printing the 4 *sen* pale rose April 1873 issue.

SECTION I.—Ordinary white wove paper, with syllabic character.

1° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 267 ½ *sen* Ash.

2° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 268 4 *sen* Green.

3° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 269 6 *sen* Orange.

4° Perforated 10 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 270 4 *sen* Green.
„ 271 6 „ Orange.

5° Perforated 10 × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 272 1 *sen* Brown.

6° Perforated 10½ 10½ *m/m.*

„ 273 ½ *sen* Ash.
„ 274 4 „ Green.

7° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 275 6 *sen* Orange.

8° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 276 ½ *sen* Ash.
„ 277 1 „ Brown.
„ 278 4 „ Green.
„ 279 6 „ Orange.
„ 280 10 „ Blue.

No. 281 20 *sen* Carmine.
„ 282 30 „ Violet.

9° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 283 ½ *sen* Ash.
„ 284 4 „ Green.
„ 285 6 „ Orange.
„ 286 30 „ Violet.

10° Perforated 11 × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 287 1 *sen* Brown.
„ 288 6 „ Orange.

11° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 289 ½ *sen* Ash.
„ 290 10 „ Blue.

12° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 291 6 *sen* Orange.

13° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 292 ½ *sen* Ash.
„ 293 1 „ Brown.
„ 294 4 „ Green.
„ 295 6 „ Orange.
„ 296 10 „ Blue.
„ 297 20 „ Carmine.
„ 298 30 „ Violet.

Syllabic characters:

½ *sen* ロハニ
1 „ ホトチヲワカヨタレ
4 „ イロハ
6 „ ヌルワカヨタレソツネナラ
10 „ ニホ
20 „ チ
30 „ ロハニ

In this series many forgeries of the 6 *sen* orange have been found officially obliterated, postmarks shew that these imitations got into circulation during 1876. It is apparent that these forgeries were not intended for sale to collectors, but were made to defraud the government, whose officials probably not being well versed with the rules or the stamps themselves thirty years ago, did not discover that the letters were franked with forged stamps. Six *sen* in those days probably meant much to the counterfeiters, as the purchasing value was more than double what it is to-day, and the standard of living very much below that of our time.

Although ten thousand stamps of each syllabic character are declared to have been printed, the characters ヨ, ソ and ラ of the 6 *sen* denomination are exceedingly rare specimens, notwithstanding their juxtaposition.

SECTION II.—Ordinary white laid paper.

1° Perforated ?

No. 299 1 *sen* Brown with syllabic character レ

SECTION III.—Ordinary white wove paper, without syllabic character.

1° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 300 1 *sen* Brown.

2° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 301 1 *sen* Brown.
„ 302 4 „ Green.

3° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 303 4 *sen* Green.

4° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 304 4 *sen* Green.

5° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

No. 305 4 *sen* Green.

During March 1875, a proposition was made by the General Post Office to illustrate postage stamps with the effigies of Japanese loyalists, but this suggestion did not meet with the approval of the then Prime Minister, and the matter was dropped. Notification No. 104 of the Home Department announced that from June 11th 1875 the practice of printing syllabic characters upon postage stamps would be discontinued on account of the adoption of the process of electrotyping, in substitution for the *taille douce* method of engraving. The printing of the three new stamps issued subsequent to this date, however, was not affected by the electrotype process.

August 1875 Issue.

Although two new stamps of the value of 1 *sen* and 2 *sen* were issued in August 1875, the 1 *sen* was not actually put on sale before the early part of 1876. The type is similar to the issue just described, with the only difference that the branches, instead of being crossed, are tied with a bow of ribbons. They are engraved in *taille douce* on ordinary white wove paper; only one plate for each value was made, which was composed of forty stamps in the same manner as in the preceding issue.

SECTION I.—Ordinary white wove paper, without syllabic character.

1° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 306 1 *sen* Brown.

2° Perforated 10 × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 307 2 *sen* Canary yellow.

3° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 308 2 *sen* Canary yellow.

4° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 309 1 *sen* Brown.
„ 310 2 „ Canary yellow.
„ 311 2 „ Lemon.

5° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 312 2 *sen* Canary yellow.

6° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 313 1 *sen* Brown.
„ 314 2 „ Canary yellow.
„ 315 2 „ Lemon.

7° Perforated 12 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 316 2 *sen* Canary yellow.

8° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 317 1 *sen* Brown.
„ 318 2 „ Canary yellow.
„ 319 2 „ Lemon.

9° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 320 1 *sen* Brown.
„ 321 2 „ Canary yellow.
„ 322 2 „ Lemon.

It will thus be observed that during the year 1875, the 1 *sen* brown made its appearance with three variations in minor details, sufficient for the claim of entire distinctiveness—i.e. during February we see it appear with a syllabic character in a square just where the branches meet, also these stems crossing each other without any syllabic character, while in August a bow of ribbon takes the place once occupied by those symbols.

March 1876 Issue.

By Notification No. 32 of the Home Department, a 5 *sen* stamp was again issued on the 19th March 1876 to fill the

demand of an adhesive of that denomination for inland correspondence, and it was suppressed three months later, on June 23rd 1876. It is engraved in *taille douce* on ordinary white wove paper. Only one plate of forty minor varieties, as in the preceding issues, was made. The design is similar to the 6 *sen* January 1874 issue, with the exception that the value in Arabic figures is replaced at the top of the garter with the inscription 郵便切手 (*Yubin Kitte*); the former place of this inscription and the ornamental groundwork within the centre of the garter are occupied with branches and flowers of the paulownia imperialis, while the crysanthemum crest has been removed higher up. These slight alterations give the stamp a decidedly more attractive appearance. The syllabic character is absent. Size 19¾ × 22 *m/m.*

SECTION I.—Ordinary white wove paper.

1° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

No. 323 5 *sen* Emerald green.

2° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 324 5 *sen* Emerald green.

3° Perforated 10 × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 325 5 *sen* Emerald green.

4° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 326 5 *sen* Emerald green.

5° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 327 5 *sen* Emerald green.

6° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 328 5 *sen* Emerald green.

May 1876 Issue.

These stamps, of entirely new design, made their appearance on May 17th 1876 in accordance with Home Department Notification No. 71, when in turn the issue of the two higher values was stopped on 11th October 1879, and the 5 *rin* on the comparatively recent date of April 1st 1899, thus making a period of twenty three years that this stamp was in constant use, the longest life that any Japanese postage stamp has thus far attained. The *han sen* (半錢) stamp bade us farewell, making room for its more conventional brother the *go rin* (五厘), the other values being 1 and 2 *sen* respectively. The stamps were printed on white wove paper in sheets of eighty stamps in eight horizontal rows of ten stamps each. The design of the 5 *rin* represents a sphere in the exact centre of the stamp, in which the value in native characters is placed; above the sphere the crysanthemum crest, and below the paulownia crest, the whole being circumscribed within an oval ring in which the inscription 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) is placed in the upper section, and "IMPERIAL JAPANESE POST" in the lower one; triangular ornaments are in the upper and lower angles, the top one on the sinister side containing the numeral "5" and on the dexter side the letter "R," the same *vice versâ* below. The 1 *sen* stamp is practically the same in design with the exception that in the corners there are four small circles in which the numeral "1" and the symbol "SN" appear in like manner to the "5" and "R" in the 5 *rin* stamp; the 2 *sen* stamp is identical with the 1 *sen*, with the exception that these circles are altered into squares. Size 18¾ 22½ *m/m*.

SECTION I.—Thick white wove paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m*.

No.	329	5 *rin*	Slate.
„	330	1 *sen*	Black.
„	331	2 „	Drab.

SECTION II.—Thin soft silky white wove paper.

1° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

No. 332 2 *sen* Drab.

2° Perforated 9 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 333 2 *sen* Drab.

3° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 334 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 335 1 *sen* Black.
„ 336 2 „ Drab.

4° Perforated 9½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 337 2 *sen* Drab.

5° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 338 2 *sen* Drab.

6° Perforated 10 × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 339 2 *sen* Drab.

7° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 340 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 341 1 *sen* Black.
„ 342 2 „ Drab.

8° Perforated 11½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 343 2 *sen* Drab.

SECTION III.—Ordinany medium white wove paper

1° Perforated 8½ × 8½ *m/m.*

No. 344 5 *rin* Slate.

2° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

„ 345 5 *rin* Slate.

No. 346 1 *sen* Black.
„ 347 2 „ Drab.

3° Perforated 9 × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 348 1 *sen* Black.
„ 349 2 „ Drab.

4° Perforated 9 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 350 1 *sen* Black.
„ 351 2 „ Drab.

5° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 352 1 *sen* Black.
„ 353 2 „ Drab.

6° Perforated 9 × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 354 2 *sen* Drab,

7° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 355 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 356 1 *sen* Black.
„ 357 2 „ Drab.

8° Perforated 9½ × 10 *m/m.*

„ 358 1 *sen* Black.
„ 559 2 „ Drab.

9° Perforated 9½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 360 1 *sen* Black.
„ 361 2 „ Drab.

10° Perforated 9½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 362 1 *sen* Black.
„ 363 2 „ Drab.

11° Perforated 9½ × 13 *m/m.*

No. 364 1 *sen* Black.
„ 365 2 „ Drab.

12° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 366 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 367 1 *sen* Black.
„ 368 2 „ Drab.

13° Perforated 10 × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 369 5 *rin* Greenish gray.

14° Perforated 10 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 370 1 *sen* Black.
„ 371 2 „ Drab.

15° Perforated 10 × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 372 2 *sen* Drab.

16° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 373 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 374 1 *sen* Black.
„ 375 2 „ Drab.

17° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 376 5 *rin* Slate.

18° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 377 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 378 1 *sen* Black.
„ 379 2 „ Drab.

19° Perforated 11 × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 380 2 *sen* Drab.

20° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 381 5 *rin* Slate.

No. 382 1 *sen* Black.
„ 383 2 „ Drab.

21° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 384 5 *rin* Slate.

22° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 385 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 386 1 *sen* Black.
„ 387 2 „ Drab.

23° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 388 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 389 1 *sen* Black.
„ 390 2 „ Drab.

24° Perforated 12½ × 13 *m/m.*

„ 391 2 *sen* Drab.

25° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 392 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 393 1 *sen* Black.
„ 394 2 „ Drab.

26° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 395 5 *rin* Slate.
„ 396 1 *sen* Black.
„ 397 2 „ Drab.

Shades: 5 *rin* Ash to Slate.
1 *sen* Dull pale black to Jet black.
2 „ Drab pale to dark.

I have dispensed with notifying individual shades, as they are numerous but generally not distinct enough to enter into classification; in the following descriptions, also, I shall only mention such shades as philatelists would consider of sufficient

importance to be classified as a variety. The 2 *sen* drab is the only Japanese postage stamp that has been perforated in the largest mumber of combinations.

June 1876 issue.

The two values issued by ordinance No. 92 of the Home Department on June 23rd 1876, were of 4 *sen* and 5 *sen* denominations; the emission was due to the electrotype process which the Government had adopted in printing its stamps. The 4 *sen* ceased to be issued on 10th March 1888 and the 5 *sen* on January 1st 1883. The design of the 4 *sen* is substantially the same as that of the 1 *sen* of May 1876 issue, save for the ground of the inner oval outside the sphere, which is filled with ornamental work. The 5 *sen* is an entirely new type; the oval in the middle of the stamp represents crossed branches of crysanthemums and paulownias, with the Imperial crest between, over which there is a scintillating star; in the outer circle of the great oval appears the inscription 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) above, and 五錢 (*go sen*) below, all in Japanese characters; mercurial wheels fill the corners formed by the rectangular frame around the great oval; in the top frame "JAPANESE EMPIRE" and in the bottom one "FIVE SEN," at the sides the word "POST;" in the four corners of the frame there are small circles within which the numeral "5" and its Roman equivalent are put alternately. The size of the 4 *sen* is 18¾ × 22½ *m/m* and the 5 *sen* 19 × 22½ *m/m*.

SECTION I.—Thick white wove paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m*.

No. 398 4 *sen* Green.
" 399 5 " Brown.

SECTION II.—Thin soft silky white wove paper.

1° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

No. 400 4 *sen* Green.
„ 401 5 „ Brown.

2° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 402 4 *sen* Green.
„ 403 5 „ Brown.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 404 5 *sen* Brown.

4° Perforated 13 × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 405 4 *sen* Green.

5° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 406 4 *sen* Green.

SECTION III.—Ordinary medium white wove paper.

1° Perforated 8 × 8½ *m/m.*

No. 407 4 *sen* Green.

2° Perforated 8½ × 8½ *m/m.*

„ 408 4 *sen* Green.

3° Perforated 8½ × 9 *m/m.*

„ 409 4 *sen* Green.

4° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

„ 410 4 *sen* Green.
„ 411 5 „ Brown.

5° Perforated 9 × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 412 4 *sen* Green.
„ 413 5 „ Brown.

6° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 414 4 *sen* Green.
„ 415 5 „ Brown.

7° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 416 4 *sen* Green.
„ 417 5 „ Brown.

8° Perforated 9½ × 10 *m/m.*

„ 418 4 *sen* Green.
„ 419 5 „ Brown.

9° Perforated 9½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 420 5 *sen* Brown.

10° Perforated 9½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 421 4 *sen* Green.

11° Perforated 9½ × 13 *m/m.*

„ 422 4 *sen* Green.

12° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 423 4 *sen* Green.
„ 424 5 „ Brown.

13° Perforated 10 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 425 4 *sen* Green.

14° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 426 4 *sen* Green.
„ 427 5 „ Brown.

15° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 428 5 *sen* Brown.

16° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 429 4 *sen* Green.

A No. 42

A No. 43

A No. 44

A No. 45

A No. 46

A No. 47

A No. 48

A No. 49

A No. 50

17° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

No. 430 4 *sen* Green.
„ 431 5 „ Brown.

18° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 432 4 *sen* Green.

19° Perforated 12½ × 13 *m/m.*

„ 433 4 *sen* Green.

20° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 434 4 *sen* Green.
„ 435 5 „ Brown.

21° Perforated 13 × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 436 4 *sen* Green.

22° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 437 4 *sen* Blue green.
„ 438 4 „ Green.
„ 439 4 „ Greenish blue.

23° Perforated 13½ × 14 *m/m.*

„ 440 4 *sen* Green.

The 4 *sen* perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m* appears not to have been put on sale to the public before February 1888, say about a month before it was withdrawn from circulation.

June 1877 Issue.

Four new stamps were printed and issued on 29th June 1877 in accordance with Home Department ordinance No. 47. These are the 6 *sen,* 10 *sen,* 12 *sen* and 15 *sen,* they were all eventually withdrawn from circulation on 10th March 1888. The 6, 10 and 12 *sen* are identical with the 5 *sen* of June 1876

issue, with the exception of the ornament at the inner corners formed by the frame around the oval circle, the 10 *sen* consisting of a horseshoe and whip, and the 12 *sen*, of a balloon. The 15 *sen* stamp is a decided improvement over any type heretofore designed and is quite an elaborate impression; the oval at the centre contains branches of crysanthemums and paulownias, the Imperial crest reposing over the stems where they cross; above this a rising sun figures prominently; in the upper portion of the ring around the oval, are the Japanese characters 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*), and the value in the vernacular in the lower section; a crescent at the left and the *kiri* crest at the dexter side of this ring add to the effective appearance of the stamp; at the top corners, in a ribbon, "IMPERIAL POST" on the left, and "JAPANESE POST" on the right; at each bottom corner large numerals of value in a circle, with the word SEN in a colorless label between and touching these circles. Size of 15 *sen*, 18½ × 22½ *m/m*, the others, same as the 5 *sen* of the immediately preceding issue.

SECTION I.—Thick white wove paper.

1° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m*.

No. 441 10 *sen* Blue.

SECTION II.—Ordinary white wove paper.

1° Perforated 8½ × 9 *m/m*.

No. 442 15 *sen* Pale Green.

2° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m*.

„	443	6 *sen*	Orange.
„	444	10 „	Blue.
„	445	12 „	Pale rose.
„	446	12 „	Dark rose.
„	447	15 „	Pale Green.
„	448	15 „	Dark „

3° Perforated 9 × 9½ *m/m.*

No. 449 6 *sen* Orange.
„ 450 10 „ Blue.

4° Perforated 9 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 451 15 *sen* Green.

5° Perforated 9 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 452 12 *sen* Pale rose.

6° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 453 6 *sen* Orange.
„ 454 10 „ Blue.
„ 455 12 „ Dark rose.
„ 456 15 „ Green.

7° Perforated 9½ × 10 *m/m.*

„ 457 10 *sen* Blue.

8° Perforated 9½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 458 12 *sen* Pale rose.
„ 459 15 „ Green.

9° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 460 10 *sen* Blue.
„ 461 15 „ Green.

10° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 462 6 *sen* Orange.
„ 463 10 „ Blue.
„ 464 15 „ Green.

11° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 465 15 *sen* Green.

12° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 466 10 *sen* Blue.

13° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

No. 467 10 *sen* Blue.
„ 468 15 „ Green.

14° Perforated 12½ × 13 *m/m.*

„ 469 15 *sen* Green.

15° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 470 6 *sen* Orange.
„ 471 10 „ Blue.
„ 472 15 „ Green.

16° Perforated 13 × 13 ½ *m/m.*

„ 473 10 *sen* Blue.
„ 474 15 „ Green.

17° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 475 6 *sen* Orange.
„ 476 10 „ Blue.
„ 477 15 „ Green.

Various authorities agree that the last perforation on these three stamps was first issued during February 1888, in which case it was hardly a month in use. Specimens are, however, by no means rare. Stanley Gibbons Ltd. mention the 10 and 15 *sen* in a 14 × 14 *m/m* perforation, but among the large quantity of these stamps handled by me, not a single copy of this variety was ever found of either value.

August 1877 Issue.

In conformity whith the decision adopted to print all stamps by the electrotype process, the 20, 30 and 45 *sen* stamps were issued by Home Department ordinance No. 59 on August 18th 1877 in design exactly the same as the 15 *sen* of June 1877 issue; one hundred stamps to the sheet in ten horizontal rows

of ten stamps each. They were all suppressed on the 10th March 1888, and on November 30th of the following year their use through the mails was prohibited. Only the ordinary foreign white wove paper was used for these stamps.

1° Perforated 8½ × 8½ *m/m.*

No. 478 20 *sen* Deep blue.

2° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

„ 479 20 *sen* Deep blue.
„ 480 30 „ Pale violet.
„ 481 45 „ Carmine.

3° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 482 20 *sen* Deep blue.
„ 483 30 „ Pale violet.
„ 484 45 „ Carmine.

4° Perforated 9½ × 10 *m/m.*

„ 485 20 *sen* Deep blue.
„ 486 45 „ Carmine.

5° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 487 20 *sen* Deep blue.
„ 488 30 „ Pale violet.

6° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 489 30 *sen* Pale violet.

7° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 490 20 *sen* Deep blue.

8° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 491 20 *sen* Deep blue.

9° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 492 20 *sen* Deep blue.

The three last perforations are generally recognized as having been issued during February 1888.

November 1877 Issue.

On November 20th 1877 a stamp of the denomination of 8 *sen* made its appearance for the first time. Ordinance No. 78 of the Home Department announced its advent; it was, however, withdrawn on March 10th 1888. The design is of the type of the 10 *sen* June 1877 issue, but the ornament at the inner corners formed by the frame around the oval circle, consists of a propeller. The stamp is printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps in ten horizontal rows of ten adhesives each, and measures about 18½ × 22½ *m/m.*

1° Perforated 8½ × 8½ *m/m.*

No. 493 8 *sen* Puce.

2° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

„ 494 8 *sen* Puce.

3° Perforated 9 × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 495 8 *sen* Puce.

4° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 496 8 *sen* Puce.

5° Perforated 9½ 10 *m/m.*

„ 497 8 *sen* Puce.

6° Perforated 9½ × 12 ½ *m/m.*

„ 498 8 *sen* Puce.

7° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 499 8 *sen* Puce.

A No. 51	A No. 52	A No. 53
A No. 54	A No. 55	A No. 56
A No. 57	A No. 58	A No. 59

8° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

No. 500 8 *sen* Puce.

9° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 501 8 *sen* Puce.

10° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 502 8 *sen* Puce.

11° Perforated 13 × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 503 8 *sen* Puce.

12° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 504 8 *sen* Puce.

The color of this stamp has been variously denoted in catalogues as "violet brown," "purple," "brown shades," &c., the color term "puce," however, is the nearest approximation to the real shade. It may be observed that the four last perforations are assumed not to have been issued prior to February 1888.

June 1879 Issue.

The two stamps issued on 30th June 1879 by Home Department ordinance No. 24, were of two values that had not been issued heretofore, viz.: 3 and 50 *sen.* The 3 *sen* is of the type of the 1 *sen* black May 1876 issue, and the 50 *sen* of the type of the 15 *sen* green June 1877 issue, save that the crescent at the sinister side and the *kiri* crest at the dexter side of the ring forming the oval are each replaced by a five point star. They are printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper. The Government ceased issuing these two stamps on March 10th 1888. Size for both 18½ × 22½ *m/m.*

1° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

No.	505	50 *sen*	Carmine.
„	506	50 „	Orange red.

2° Perforated 9 × 9½ *m/m.*

„	507	3 *sen*	Orange.
„	508	3 „	Lemon.
„	509	50 „	Carmine.
„	510	50 „	Orange red.

3° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„	511	3 *sen*	Orange.
„	512	3 „	Lemon.
„	513	50 „	Carmine.
„	514	50 „	Orange red.

4° Perforated 9½ × 10 *m/m.*

„	515	3 *sen*	Orange.
„	516	3 „	Lemon.
„	517	50 „	Carmine.
„	518	50 „	Orange red.

5° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„	519	3 *sen*	Orange.
„	520	3 „	Lemon.
„	521	50 „	Carmine.
„	522	50 „	Orange red.

6° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

„	523	50 *sen*	Orange red.

7° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„	524	50 *sen*	Carmine.

8° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„	525	50 *sen*	Carmine.

9° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

No. 526 50 *sen* Carmine.

10° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 527 50 *sen* Carmine.

11° Perforated 13 × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 528 50 *sen* Carmine.

12° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 529 50 *sen* Carmine.

The last three perforations are known to have first been issued during February 1888.

October 1879 Issue.

It would seem that quite a number of the 1 *sen* black and 2 *sen* drab of May 1876 issue were used a second time by unscrupulous persons, after the obliteration marks were cleverly removed, for, the *Nihon Teikoku Yubin Kitte Enkakushi* mentions that to prevent this fraudulent use, the colors of the 1 *sen* and 2 *sen* stamps were changed on October 11th 1879 by Ordinance No. 44 of the Home Department, into the less fast colors of maroon and grey purple, because the black and drab were of such indelible colouring as to permit the successful operation of restoring these stamps into an apparently unused state. The design is identical with the corresponding values of the May 1876 emission, and the stamps are printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper. The issue ceased on January 1st 1883.

1° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

No. 530 2 *sen* Gray purple.

2° Perforated 9 × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 531 2 *sen* Gray purple.

3° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

No. 532 1 *sen* Maroon.
„ 533 2 „ Gray purple.

4° Perforated 9½ × 10 *m/m.*

„ 534 1 *sen* Maroon.
„ 535 2 „ Gray purple.

5° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 536 1 *sen* Maroon.
„ 537 2 „ Gray purple.

6° Perforated 10 × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 538 2 *sen* Gray purple.

7° Perforated 10 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 539 1 *sen* Maroon.

8° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 540 1 *sen* Maroon.
„ 541 2 „ Gray purple.

9° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 542 2 *sen* Gray purple.

10° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 543 1 *sen* Maroon.
„ 544 2 „ Gray purple.

11° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 545 2 *sen* Gray purple.

12° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 546 1 *sen* Maroon.
„ 547 5 „ Gray purple.

13° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

No. 548 1 *sen* Maroon.
„ 549 2 „ Gray purple.

14° Perforated 12½ × 13 *m/m.*

„ 550 2 *sen* Gray purple.

15° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 551 1 *sen* Maroon.

The 2 *sen* Gray purple has been found with double perforation at one side, and also imperforate at one side.

VARIETIES.

No. 552 2 *sen* Gray purple, double perforation at one side.

„ 553 2 „ Gray purple, unperforated at one side.

Specialists differ in describing the color of the above, the 1 *sen* having been called "violet brown," "red brown" and even "brown," whilst the 2 *sen* has occasionally been described as "purple" and "dark violet."

January 1883 Issue.

Consequent upon the assent given by the Japanese Government to the proposal of the International Bureau that all its members adopt uniform colors for postage stamps of corresponding values, a change in colors of the 1 *sen*, 2 *sen* and 5 *sen* stamps became necessary. These now emerged on January 1st 1883 in accordance with ordinance No. 55 of the Agricultural Department, in green, rose and ultramarine respectively; the designs, however, remained the same, and the stamps were printed on ordinary foreign white wove poper, one hundred to the sheet in ten horizontal rows of ten stamps each.

1° Perforated 8½ × 8½ *m/m.*

No. 554 1 *sen* Green.
„ 555 2 „ Rose red.
„ 556 5 *sen* Ultramarine.

2° Perforated 8½ × 9 *m/m.*

„ 557 1 *sen* Green.
„ 558 5 *sen* Ultramarine.

3° Perforated 9 × 9 *m/m.*

„ 559 1 *sen* Green.
„ 560 2 „ Rose red.
„ 561 5 „ Ultramarine.

4° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

„ 562 1 *sen* Green.
„ 563 2 „ Rose red.
„ 564 5 „ Ultramarine.

5° Perforated 9½ × 10 *m/m.*

„ 565 1 *sen* Green.

6° Perforated 10 × 10 *m/m.*

„ 566 1 *sen* Green.
„ 567 5 „ Ultramarine.

7° Perforated 10½ × 10½ *m/m.*

„ 568 1 *sen* Green.

8° Perforated 10½ × 11 *m/m.*

„ 569 2 *sen* Rose red.

9° Perforated 11 × 11 *m/m.*

„ 570 1 *sen* Green.
„ 571 5 „ Ultramarine.

10° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 572 1 *sen* Green.
„ 573 2 „ Rose red.
„ 574 5 „ Ultramarine.

11° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 575 1 *sen* Green.
„ 576 2 „ Rose red.

12° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 577 1 „ Green.
„ 578 5 „ Ultramarine.

13° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 579 1 *sen* Green.
„ 580 2 „ Rose red.
„ 581 2 „ Scarlet.
„ 582 5 „ Ultramarine.

14° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 583 1 *sen* Green.
„ 584 2 „ Rose red.

The last two perforations were first used during February 1888.

February 1888 Issue.

This emission shows only a slight alteration in the color of the 5 *sen* stamp just described, the paper, size, impression, etc. remaining the same.

1° Perforated 9½ × 9½ *m/m.*

No. 585 5 *sen* Pale sky blue.

2° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 586 5 *sen* Pale sky blue.

3° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

No. 587 5 *sen* Pale sky blue.

4° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 588 5 *sen* Pale sky blue.

5° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 589 5 *sen* Pale sky blue.

March 1888 Issue.

Stamps of the denominations of 25 *sen* and 1 *yen* made their first appearance in accordance with ordinance No. 1 of the Department of Communications on the 10th March 1888, whilst the colors of the 4 *sen*, 8 *sen*, 10 *sen*, 15 *sen*, 20 *sen*, and 50 *sen* underwent a change. The last six stamps are of the same design as the immediately preceding issues of corresponding values. The 25 *sen* represents a circle, within the centre of which appear two crossed branches of paulownias and crysanthemums embracing a *kiku* crest; in the upper section of the circle is the inscription 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*), in Japanese characters, and in the lower part "IMPERIAL JAPANESE POST" in white Roman letters, all on a green ground. In the uppermost part of the stamp *Nijugo sen* appears in antique Japanese characters, whilst the word "SEN" is placed at the extreme bottom of the adhesive with the numerals "25" in large figures at each side, filling the two corners. With the exception of the ring forming the circle, the design is entirely on a colorless ground. The 1 *yen* bears a large embossed *kiku* crest which completely fills the centre of the stamp; this crest is encompassed by a wide circle, in the rim of which inscriptions in the same style as the 25 *sen* appear in white letters; at the bottom of the stamp, the value is shown in red antique Japanese characters as well as in Roman letters in colorless spaces; with this exception, the rest

of the stamp is a white design on carmine ground. An insulator figures prominently at each corner. Printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper; size of the 25 *sen*, 18½ × 22½ *m/m*, and of the 1 *yen*, 19 × 22½ *m/m*.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m*.

No.	590	10 *sen*	Brown ocre.
„	591	20 „	Orange.
„	592	50 „	Red brown.
„	593	1 *yen*	Carmine.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m*.

„	594	4 *sen*	Yellow brown.
„	595	25 „	Pale green.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m*.

„	596	4 *sen*	Yellow brown.
„	597	8 „	Blue lilac.
„	598	10 „	Brown ocre.
„	599	15 „	Violet.
„	600	20 „	Orange.
„	601	25 „	Pale green,
„	602	50 „	Red brown.
„	603	1 *yen*	Carmine.

4° Perforated 12½ × 13 *m/m*.

„	604	25 *sen*	Pale green.

5° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m*.

„	605	4 *sen*	Yellow brown.
„	606	8 „	Blue lilac.
„	607	10 „	Brown ocre.
„	608	15 „	Violet.
„	609	20 „	Orange.
„	610	25 „	Pale green.

No. 611 50 *sen* Red brown.
„ 612 1 *yen* Carmine.

6° Perforated 13 × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 613 10 *sen* Brown ocre.

7° Perforated 13 × 14 *m/m.*

„ 614 15 *sen* Violet
„ 615 25 „ Pale green.

8° Perforated 13½ × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 616 4 *sen* Yellow brown.
„ 617 8 „ Blue lilac.
„ 618 10 „ Brown ocre.
„ 619 15 „ Violet.
„ 620 20 „ Orange.
„ 621 25 „ Pale green.
„ 622 50 „ Red brown.
„ 623 1 *yen* Carmine.

9° Perforated 13½ × 14 *m/m.*

„ 624 10 *sen* Brown ocre.
„ 625 15 „ Violet.
„ 626 25 „ Pale green.
„ 627 50 „ Red brown.

10° Perforated 14 × 14 *m/m.*

„ 628 25 *sen* Pale green.

The 20 *sen* stamp has often been chronicled as existing in the "yellow" color, but it never was originally issued in that tint. It should be noted that this orange color on the early printed stamps is very susceptible to atmospheric and actinic influences, exposure of these stamps an hour or two to the rays of the sun often transforming the shade into a lemon yellow.

May 1892 Issue.

After four years of non-activity, the 3 *sen* stamp of June 1879 issue made its reappearance in a new color on May 6th 1892 in accordance with ordinance No. 11 of the Department of Communications. Experience proved that for the payment of postal money order fees, third class mail matter, and acknowledgement of delivery, a 3 *sen* stamp would be very useful, hence its issue. Design, size, and paper, the same as its predecessor.

1° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

No. 629 3 *sen* Lilac rose.

2° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 630 3 *sen* Lilac rose.

March 1894 Issue.

In commemoration of the silver wedding of their Imperial reigning Majesties, it was notified on March 2nd 1894 by Communications Department ordinance No. 3 that two special stamps of the value of 2 and 5 *sen* would be issued on the 9th of that month. They are elaborate specimens ; the centre of the stamps is occupied by a large *Kiku* crest (菊紋) encircled by a ring, in the rim of which, appear in the upper section the inscription 大婚貳十五年祝典 (*Dai kon nijugo nen shikuten*) in Japanese archaic characters, and in the lower portion, " IMPERIAL WEDDING 25 ANNIVERSARY ;" the outer edge of the ring is formed of seventy two dots ; at each side there is a fabulous bird, probably intended for a stork. At the top of the stamp 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) in native characters is shown within a scroll ; the value, both in the vernacular and Roman letters, is placed at the bottom together with " IMPERIAL JAPANESE POST." Other parts of the stamps are elaborated with ornamental work. Printed on

ordinary foreign white wove paper, each sheet is composed of fifty stamps in ten horizontal rows of five stamps each. Fourteen million three hundred thousand of the 2 *sen* and Seven hundred thousand of the 5 *sen* were issued. Size 25 × 35¾ *m/m.*

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 631 2 *sen* Rose red.
„ 632 5 „ Ultramarine.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 633 2 *sen* Rose red.
„ 634 5 „ Ultramarine.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 635 2 *sen* Rose red.
„ 636 5 „ Ultramarine.

4° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„ 637 2 *sen* Rose red.
„ 638 5 „ Ultramarine.

5° Perforated 14 × 14 *m/m.*

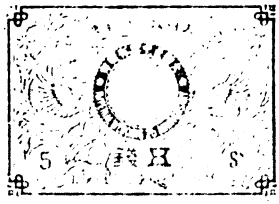
„ 639 2 *sen* Rose red.
„ 640 5 „ Ultramarine.

It will be observed that this series has no compound perforations.

August 1896 Issue.

On the 1st of August 1896, for the first time Japan issued its stamps with the effigy of national personages printed thereon. Although only two values were issued, this series consists of four stamps; there are two 2 *sen*, and likewise two 5 *sen*, each pair bearing the effigy of Prince Arisugawa and Prince Kitashirakawa respectively. This set was issued in commemoration of the valour shown and services rendered by these

A No. 60



A No. 61

A No. 62

A No. 63

A No. 64

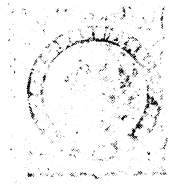
A No. 65

A No. 66

A No. 67

A No. 68

A No. 69



A No. 70

A No. 71

two princes in Formosa and Manchuria respectively. The two *sen* has the effigy in an oval, within the rim forming the circle is placed the inscription 日本帝國郵便切手 (*Nihon Teikoku Yubin Kitte*), this is shown in the upper part, "IMPERIAL JAPANESE POST" appears in the lower portion, whilst the symbol "2 SEN." forms the division between the upper and lower semi-circles; there are ornaments at the four corners. The 5 *sen* is a more unpretentious stamp. The portrait is within the usual circle in the centre of the design; in the upper section of the rim of the ring around the effigy appears 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) the wording here being varied from the 2 *sen* stamp; over this inscription, the value, all in Japanese characters, whilst in the lower semi-circle is placed "IMPERIAL JAPANESE POST," and beneath that, the symbol "5 SEN." Printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper, each sheet consists of one hundred stamps, being made up of ten horizontal rows of ten stamps each. Five millions each of the 2 *sen*, and two millions each of the 5 *sen* were issued. Size 19 × 24 *m/m*.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m*.

No.	641	2 *sen*	Rose red.	Prince	Arisugawa.
„	642	2 „	„	„	Kitashirakawa.
„	643	5 „	Ultramarine.	„	Arisugawa.
„	644	5 „	„	„	Kitashirakawa.

2° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m*.

„	645	2 *sen*	Rose red.	Prince	Arisugawa.
„	646	2 „	„	„	Kitashirakawa.
„	647	5 „	Ultramarine.	„	Arisugawa.
„	648	5 „	„	„	Kitashirakawa.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m*.

„	649	2 *sen*	Rose red.	Prince	Arisugawa.
„	650	2 „	„	„	Kitashirakawa.

No.	651	5 *sen*	Ultramarine.	Prince	Arisugawa.
„	652	5 „	„	„	Kitashirakawa.

4° Perforated 13 × 13 *m/m.*

„	653	2 *sen*	Rose red.	Prince	Arisugawa.
„	654	2 „	„	„	Kitashirakawa.
„	655	5 „	Ultramarine.	„	Arisugawa.
„	656	5 „	„	„	Kitashirakawa.

5° Perforated 14 × 14 *m/m.*

„	657	2 *sen*	Rose red.	Prince	Arisugawa.
„	658	2 „	„	„	Kitashirakawa.
„	659	5 „	Ultramarine.	„	Arisugawa.
„	660	5 „	„	„	Kitashirakawa.

January 1899 Issue.

By Ordinance No. 30 of the Department of Communications dated 21st December 1898, it was announced that three new stamps of the denomination of 2, 4 and 10 *sen* would make their appearance. They were actually issued on January 1st 1899, and were the first of an entirely new series that was in course of preparation, The 2 *sen* and 4 *sen* are of the same design, and an improvement upon those that had hitherto appeared; the crysanthemum crest shows to advantage in the exact centre of the stamp and is surrounded by a necklace formed of thirty-two dots, around this necklace there is a network collar circumscribed by a ring; in the upper portion of the collar are seven five-point stars, each containing a Japanese seal (篆書) character reading in the following order 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*); in the lower portion the characters 貳錢 (*Ni sen*); the entire ground of the centre within the ring is in the respective color of the stamp, and the design, with the exception of native characters, is colorless; in each corner there are round colored spaces,

the two bottom ones contain the cypher "2" or "4" at the sinister side, and the symbol "SN." at the dexter side, whilst the top spaces have each an ancient *suzu*—a kind of bell,—the left one bearing an almost microscopical character 驛 (*eki*), and the right one, 逓 (*tei*)—*ekitei* i.e. letterpost—; the rest of the stamp is ornamented with fancy work. The 10 *sen* is in general a less effective production; the indispensable crysanthemum crest at the centre is encircled by a colored Greek border, the inscription 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) spreads above this, whilst the value 拾錢 (*Ju sen*) lies immediately beneath; what is probably intended to represent button-hole nosegays are placed between the upper and lower characters; the whole of this centre portion is surrounded by a wire cord; from the outer edge of this wire cord, what seemingly represents a finely woven net spreads in every direction; the four corners consist of broad Maltese crosses, the two bottom crosses containing the numerals "10" and symbol "SN." in their usual position, and the two top ones, the aforementioned bell, each with the characters 驛 (*eki*) and 逓 (*tei*) as in the case of the 2 and 4 *sen* above described; the entire design of this stamp is in white excepting the Greek border. Printed on ordinary white foreign wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps in ten horizontal rows of ten stamps each. Size 18½ × 22½ *m/m.*

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No.	661	2 *sen*	Emerald green.
„	662	4 „	Carmine rose.
„	663	10 „	Deep blue.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„	664	2 *sen*	Emerald green.
„	665	4 „	Carmine rose.
„	666	10 „	Deep blue,

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

No.	667	2 *sen*	Emerald green.
„	668	4 „	Carmine rose.
„	669	10 „	Deep blue.

April 1899 Issue.

On the 18th March 1899 the Department of Communications announced by ordinance No. 6 that three new stamps, viz: 5 *rin,* 1 *sen* and 3 *sen* in value, would be issued, they were, however, first sold over the counters of the post offices on April 1st 1899. The design is in every respect identical with the 2 *sen* and 4 *sen* of January 1899 emission, the only alteration being the characters denoting the value; it follows that the letter "S" in the symbol "Sn," is, in the case of the 5 *rin,* substituted by an "R." Printed on ordinary white foreign wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps as in the preceding issue. Size 18½ × 22½ *m/m.*

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No.	670	5 *rin*	Dark gray.
„	671	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.
„	672	3 „	Brown violet.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„	673	5 *rin*	Dark gray.
„	674	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.
„	675	3 „	Brown violet.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„	676	5 *rin*	Dark gray.
„	677	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.
„	678	3 „	Brown violet.

October 1899 Issue.

The remaining values to complete the new series that commenced in January, were issued on October 1st 1899 in accordance with Ordinance No. 44 of the Department of Communications. These are the 5 *sen*, 8 *sen*, 15 *sen*, 20 *sen*, 25 *sen*, 50 *sen* and 1 *yen*. The type of the 5 *sen* stamp is the same as the 2 and 4 *sen* of January 1899 issue, and the 8, 15 and 20 *sen* are identical with the 10 *sen* of the same issue. The 25 *sen* and 50 *sen* are alike; the crysanthemum crest, as in all the others, figures conspiciously in the centre and is surrounded by a fancy chain; around this there is a network collar on which the characters 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) are inscribed in the upper portion, and the value also in the vernacular in the lower one; at each corner is placed an octagon, the two bottom ones enclosing the numerals of value in Arabic and the symbol "SN." whilst the two top octagons contain each a bell on the sides of which the characters 驛遞 (*ekitei*) are placed together in tiny characters, thus differing in this respect from the other stamps of this series; bamboo leaves shoot forth from each side of each octagon, practically meeting each other at the tips, this simple embellishment enhances the neat appearance of the stamps; with the exception of the octagons and their contents, the whole design is in white, the ground only being colored. For the 1 *yen* a special impression is reserved; between the petals of the crysanthemum crest slightly towards the tips, are tiny spots; this crest is in the centre and is surrounded by a necklace of wavy lines; the inscription 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) in large characters on a plain colored ground practically circumsbribes this necklace, an ambigious ornament forming the division between the character 大 (*dai*) and 便 (*bin*); an endless line encircles all this, and by passing over itself at the corners, forms four small rings, these contain the characters 圓

(*yen*) and 壹 (*ichi*) and the numeral "1" and symbol "YN" respectively; the impression is entirely in white and in relief. Printed on ordinary white foreign wove paper, excepting the 1 *yen*, which is in embossed printing, all in sheets of one hundred stamps as the preceding issue. Size 18½ × 22½ *m/m*.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m*.

No.	679	5 *sen*	Chromo yellow.
„	680	8 „	Pale olive.
„	681	15 „	Purple.
„	682	20 „	Orange.
„	683	25 „	Pale blue green.
„	684	50 „	Dark red brown.
„	685	1 *yen*	Carmine.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m*.

„	686	5 *sen*	Chromo yellow.
„	687	8 „	Pale olive.
„	688	15 „	Purple.
„	689	20 „	Orange.
„	690	25 „	Pale blue green.
„	691	50 „	Dark red brown.
„	692	1 *yen*	Carmine.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m*.

„	693	5 *sen*	Chromo yellow.
„	694	8 „	Pale olive.
„	695	15 „	Purple.
„	696	20 „	Orange.
„	697	25 „	Pale blue green.
„	698	50 „	Dark red brown.
„	699	1 *yen*	Carmine.

January 1900 Issue.

On November 21st 1899 Viscount Yoshikawa, then Minister of Communications, notified that on and after January

A No. 72

A No. 73

A No. 74

A No. 75

A No. 76

A No. 77

A No. 78

A No. 79

A No. 80

A No. 81

A No. 82

A No. 83

A No. 84

A No. 85

A No. 86

1st 1900, Japanese postage stamps sold at the Japanese Post offices in China and Korea wonld bear the characters 支 那 (China) and 朝 鮮 (Korea) surcharged in red or black, and that such stamps could not be used in Japan. The issues of 1899 were accordingly surcharged as stated, the characters being placed at the bottom of the stamps between the Arabic numerals of value and the symbols "RN." "SN." or "YN." respectively.

SECTION I.—Offices in China, surcharged 支 那

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No.	700	5 *rin*	Dark gray.	Red	surcharge.
„	701	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.	„	„
„	702	2 „	Emerald green.	„	„
„	703	3 „	Brown violet.	Black	„
„	704	4 „	Carmine rose.	„	„
„	705	5 „	Chromo yellow.	Red	„
„	706	8 „	Pale olive.	„	„
„	707	10 „	Deep blue.	Black	„
„	708	15 „	Purple.	„	„
„	709	20 „	Orange.	„	„
„	710	25 „	Pale blue green.	Red	„
„	711	50 „	Dark red brown.	Black	„
„	712	1 *yen*	Carmine.	„	„

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„	713	5 *rin*	Dark gray.	Red	surcharge.
„	714	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.	„	„
„	715	2 „	Emerald green.	„	„
„	716	3 „	Brown violet.	Black	„
„	717	4 „	Carmine rose.	„	„
„	718	5 „	Chromo yellow.	Red	„
„	719	8 „	Pale olive.	„	„
„	720	10 „	Deep blue.	Black	„

No.	721	15 *sen*	Purple.	Black surcharge.	
„	722	20 „	Orange.	„	„
„	723	25 „	Pale blue green.	Red	„
„	724	50 „	Dark red brown.	Black	„
„	725	1 *yen*	Carmine.	„	„

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„	726	5 *rin*	Dark gray.	Red surcharge.	
„	727	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.	„	„
„	728	2 „	Emerald green.	„	„
„	729	3 „	Brown violet.	Black	„
„	730	4 „	Carmine rose.	„	„
„	731	5 „	Chromo yellow.	Red	„
„	732	8 „	Pale olive.	„	„
„	733	10 „	Deep blue.	Black	„
„	734	15 „	Purple.	„	„
„	735	20 „	Orange.	„	„
„	736	25 „	Pale blue green.	Red	„
„	737	50 „	Dark red brown.	Black	„
„	738	1 *yen*	Carmine.	„	„

SECTION II.—Offices in Korea, surcharged 朝鮮

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No.	739	5 *rin*	Dark gray.	Red surcharge.	
„	740	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.	„	„
„	741	2 „	Emerald green.	„	„
„	742	3 „	Brown violet.	Black	„
„	743	4 „	Carmine rose.	„	„
„	744	5 „	Chromo yellow.	Red	„
„	745	8 „	Pale olive.	„	„
„	746	10 „	Deep blue.	Black	„
„	747	15 „	Purple.	„	„
„	748	20 „	Orange.	„	„
„	749	25 „	Pale blue green.	Red	„

No.	750	50 *sen*	Dark red brown.	Black	surcharge.
„	751	1 *yen*	Carmine.	„	„

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„	752	5 *rin*	Dark gray.	Red	surcharge.
„	753	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.	„	„
„	754	2 „	Emerald green.	„	„
„	755	3 „	Brown violet.	Black	„
„	756	4 „	Carmine rose.	„	„
„	757	5 „	Chromo yellow.	Red	„
„	758	8 „	Pale olive.	„	„
„	759	10 „	Deep blue.	Black	„
„	760	15 „	Purple.	„	„
„	761	20 „	Orange.	„	„
„	762	25 „	Pale blue green.	Red	„
„	763	50 „	Dark red brown.	Black	„
„	764	1 *yen*	Carmine.	„	„

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„	765	5 *rin*	Dark gray.	Red	surcharge.
„	766	1 *sen*	Pale red brown.	„	„
„	767	2 „	Emerald green.	„	„
„	768	3 „	Brown violet.	Black	„
„	769	4 „	Carmine rose.	„	„
„	770	5 „	Chromo yellow.	Red	„
„	771	8 „	Pale olive.	„	„
„	772	10 „	Deep blue.	Black	„
„	773	15 „	Purple.	„	„
„	774	20 „	Orange.	„	„
„	775	25 „	Pale blue green.	Red	„
„	776	50 „	Dark red brown.	Black	„
„	777	1 *yen*	Carmine.	„	„

May 1900 Issue.

Late in April 1900 it was officially announced by the

Minister for Communications that a special postage stamp to commemorate the Wedding of the Crown Prince would be issued on May 10th 1900. The stamp was only valid for domestic purposes, and could not be used for letters abroad with the exception of those to China and Korea, where, branches of the Japanese post office exist. The design consists of a large oval ring, in the extreme upper part of its rim is the *kiku* crest supported by two boughs of chrysanthemum ; at the extreme bottom are two swallows flying towards each other ; within the sinister side of the rim of the large oval is inscribed vertically 大日本帝國郵便 (*Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin*) and in the dexter side 東宮御婚儀祝典 (*Tōgū gokongi shikuten*) that is to say "Imperial Japanese Post" and perhaps most intelligibly rendered as "Celebration of the Wedding of the Crown Prince," respectively ; the centre is composed of various articles that figure prominently at Japanese weddings; the two top corners consist of bunches of wistaria flowers and at the two lower ones is placed the value in antique Japanese characters surrounded by wistaria flowers ; the absence of all foreign lettering is conspicious. The total quantity issued was thirty millions. Printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps. Size 24 × 27½ *m/m.*

SECTION I.—For domestic postage only.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 778 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

2° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 779 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

3° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 780 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

4° Perforated 12½ × 12¾ *m/m.*

„ 781 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

SECTION II.—For use in China, surcharged 支那 in black.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 782 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

2° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 783 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

3° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 784 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

4° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 785 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

SECTION III.—For use in Korea, surcharged 朝鮮 in black.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 786 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

2° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 787 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

3° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 788 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

4° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 789 3 *sen* Pale carmine.

October 1900 Issue.

Due to the increase of fifty per cent that took place in the domestic rates of postage, the necessity to provide a 1½ *sen* stamp for franking private postal cards, etc. was very soon felt; to meet this requirement, it was announced by Communications Department ordinance No. 52 dated 4th September 1900, that a new stamp of the above denomination would

be issued on October 1st following. The design and size are identical with the 2 and 4 *sen* of January 1899 issue, and the stamp is also printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps in ten horizontal strips of ten stamps each.

SECTION I.—For general use in Japan.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 790 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

No. 791 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 792 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

SECTION II.—Offices in China, surcharged 支 那 in black.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 793 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 794 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 795 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

SECTION III.—Offices in Korea, surcharged 朝 鮮 in black.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

„ 796 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 797 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 798 1½ *sen* Pale ultramarine.

March 1901 Issue.

By ordinance No. 17 of Communications Department, a new ½ *sen* stamp made its appearance on March 27th 1901, ostensibly to replace the 5 *rin* then in circulation; no reason is, however, apparent for this reversion to the ancient system. The design and size are in every particular the same as the 2 *sen* and 4 *sen* of January 1899 issue.. Printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps like in the preceding issue.

SECTION I.—For general use in Japan

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 799 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

2° Perforated 11½ × 12 *m/m.*

„ 800 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

3° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 801 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

4° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 802 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

5° Perforated 13 × 13½ *m/m.*

„ 803 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

SECTION II.—Offices in China, surcharged 支那 in black.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 804 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

2° Perforated 12 × 12 *m/m.*

„ 805 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

3° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m.*

„ 806 ½ *sen* Dark gray.

This stamp has not been surcharged for use in Korea.

July 1905 Issue.

A new 3 *sen* stamp was issued on July 1st 1905 by the Department of Communications by ordinance No. 47 dated June 26th 1905 in commemoration of the amalgamation of the Postal and Telegraphic services of Korea with those of Japan. The design represents the characters 參錢 (three *sen*) reposing on a finely woven net spread out to illustrate a chrysanthemum with sixteen petals; this net is encircled by a ring about 2¾ *m/m.* wide within which margin are floral ornaments; at the right side appears the crysanthemum crest, the national emblem of Japan, and at the left a plum flower, the national emblem of Korea; always within the margin of this orb, at the upper and lower portions is a dove with outstretched wings. These are all in white on a carmine red ground. Crowning the ring is a broad colorless scroll containing the characters 日韓通信業務合同紀念 (*Nikkan tsushin gyomu gōdō kinen*) possibly best rendered as "In commemoration of the postal arrangement between Japan and Korea." The stamp was a special issue and not valid for postage on letters to Postal Union countries, being intended for circulation only in Korea, Japan, and where Japanese branch post offices are established in China. Printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps in ten horizontal rows of ten stamps each. One million five hundred thousand were issued. Size 18¾ × 22½ *m/m.*

1° Perforated 11 × 11½ *m/m.*

No. 807 3 *sen* Carmine red.

2° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m.*

,, 808 3 *sen* Carmine red.

April 1906 Issue.

On the occasion of the Grand Military Review held on the 30th of April 1906 the Department of Communications

issued a set of commemorative stamps consisting of two values, 1½ and 3 *sen*. The design is quite appropriate to the occasion. The centre represents a mounted field piece alongside three rifles supporting each other in the shape of a triangle, whilst a bugle, a pickaxe, a Japanese military banner and other articles of warfare are strewn here and there; conspiciously predominating, above these military weapons is the crysanthemum crest supported by a half-crown of laurels and crysanthemum stems; the centre design is surrounded by a wide ring within which is written in the vernacular an inscription corresponding in English to "Postage stamp in commemoration of the military "review ceremony held by the triumphal army of the cam-"paign of 1904/5," (*Meiji sanjiu shichi hachi nen senyeki rikugun gaisen kwampeishiki kinen yubin kitte.* 明治三十七八年戰役陸軍凱旋觀兵式紀念郵便切手). In the lower part of this ring is the value in native characters. The two top corners outside the ring are occupied by a star, and in the lower corners appears the value in foreign letters, the symbol "SN." being at the dexter side. In the 1½ *sen* stamp the foreign letters read "1½ SN." whilst the native characters read "one *sen* five *rin*." Similar to their immediate predecessor, being a special issue, the stamps are not valid for postage on letters to Postal Union countries, but are only available for postage in Korea, Japan, and to Japanese branch post offices established in China. Printed on ordinary foreign white wove paper in sheets of one hundred stamps in ten horizontal rows of ten stamps each. Size 18½ × 22¾ *m/m*.

1° Perforated 11½ × 11½ *m/m*.

No.	809	1½ *sen*	Ultramarine.
„	810	3 „	Carmine red.

2° Perforated 12½ × 12½ *m/m*.

„	811	1½ *sen*	Ultramarine.
„	812	3 „	Carmine red.

The nomenclature of Japanese postage stamps issued to date ceases here.

In recent times the perforation appears evenly made, but in most of the early issues it is of rare occurrence that a perfectly perforated stamp can be obtained; they are generally in an execrable state, more especially the impressions on native paper, doubtless due to the fact that these papers are not easily pierced by perforating machines.

Japanese postage stamps have not yet been watermarked.

The control of postage stamps has been confided to various Departments during certain periods. Thus we find that originally the Finance Department had the care of stamps, it was then transferred to the Home Department, and in turn to the Agricultural Department, whose control was, however, of short duration. The Department of Communications ultimately took over the control, and at present efficiently manages all postal affairs.

It is not generally known that the Government has in stock a large quantity of "remainders," doubtless representing a considerable face value. Of what stamps these consist, however, I have not been able to ascertain, aside from the fact that a large portion consists of issues during the seventies. A movement was recently set on foot by a syndicate of European stamp dealers to buy up all these "remainders," but whether these efforts have been crowned with success is not yet apparent.

Frequent mention has been made in these pages of departmental ordinances governing the issue of stamps. This document, a copy of which is circulated to all the large post offices, has a specimen of the newly issued stamp attached to it. In the early issues the adhesive was cancelled by having a black dot stencilled somewhere about its centre, but in the later issues the characters 見本 (*mihon*) corresponding to our word "specimen" was printed over its face. The notification is worded somewhat as follows:—

第三拾貳號

郵便五錢切手左ノ見本ノ通發行候條此旨布告候事

明治九年三月十九日

太政大臣 三條實美

5 Sen
Green Stamp.

a rough translation of which is :

No. 32.

It is hereby notified that a 5 *sen* Postage Stamp has been issued as per sample attached.

Meiji 9th year (1876) 3rd month
19th day.

SANJO SANEYOSHI,
Prime Minister.

Specimen of the stamp, obliterated.

They are not always identical, and the wording is sometimes altered to suit the requirements of the case ; another one reads :—

第五拾九號

郵便切手貳拾錢三拾錢四拾五錢共左ノ見本ノ通
改正候條此旨布告候事

但當分從前ノ切手取交相用不苦事

明治十年八月十八日

太政大臣 三條實美

20 Sen
Blue
Stamp.

30 Sen
Violet
Stamp.

45 Sen
Carmine
Stamp.

roughly translated as:

No. 59.

It is hereby notified that the 20 *sen*, 30 *sen*, and 45 *sen* Postage Stamps have been remodeled as per specimens attached.

The stamps hitherto in use may be concurrently used for the time being.

Meiji 10th year (1877) 8th month 18th day.

SANJO SANEYOSHI,
Prime Minister.

This catalogue would be hardly complete without mention being made where possible, of the estimated present market value of certain stamps. I will however restrict myself to recording those that are valued at or over ¥50 each.

				Unused.	Used.
No.	2	100 *mon*	Dark blue	—	50.00
„	4	500 „	Green	?	200.00
„	52	1 *sen*	Blue green	?	250.00
„	128	10 „	Pale yellow green...	100.00	50.00
„	147	½ „	Bistre	?	150.00
„	149	30 „	Gray	150.00	50 00
„	153	30 „	Gray	150.00	50.00
„	158	10 „	Pale yellow green...	75.00	—
„	159	20 „	Lilac	?	1,500.00
„	161	½ „	Dark bistre	—	50.00
„	163	½ „	Bistre	50.00	150.00
„	190	2 „	Yellow	?	150.00
„	192	6 „	Violet brown character ハ	?	100.00
„	192	6 „	„ „ チ...	?	50.00
„	192	6 „	„ „ ヌ...	?	75.00
„	192	6 „	„ „ ル...	?	75.00
„	193	6 „	„ „ ハ...	50.00	—
„	193	6 „	„ „ ヲ...	50.00	—
„	194	6 „	„ „ ハ...	50.00	—
„	194	6 „	„ „ ヲ...	50.00	—
„	195	6 „	Violet brown... ...	?	200.00
„	199	10 „	Green	?	50.00
„	200	20 „	Violet character イ...	150.00	150.00
„	200	20 „	Violet „ ロ...	100.00	100.00
„	200	20 „	Violet „ ハ...	70.00	70.00
„	203	10 „	Green ...	?	70.00
„	204	20 „	Violet „ イ...	?	?
„	204	20 „	Violet „ ロ...	?	?
„	204	20 „	Violet „ ハ...	?	?

				Unused.	Used.
No.	207	10 *sen*	Green	?	50.00
„	208	20 „	Violet character イ ...	?	?
„	208	20 „	Violet „ ロ ...	?	?
„	208	20 „	Violet „ ハ ...	?	?
„	266	15 „	Mauve ...	150.00	?
„	280	10 „	Blue „ ホ ...	50.00	50.00
„	290	10 „	Blue „ ホ ...	50.00	50.00
„	296	10 „	Blue „ ホ ...	50.00	50.00
„	299	1 „	Brown	200.00	?

With very few exceptions, Japanese postage stamps are generally worth more in a clean state than in a used condition.

to a valued friend Mr. H. Kashiwagi

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

VOL. XXXIV: PART IV.

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V, 3-7, ..

INTRODUCTORY.

Dr. Inouye Tetsujiro.

No one acquainted with Japan and Japanese thought needs to be told who Dr. Inouye Tetsujiro is. The accomplished and genial Professor of the Tokyo University, in which for some time he also held the honourable position of Dean of the College of Literature, is a very conspicuous personage in the Japanese world of letters and of thought. Unfortunately for the world at large, he has written mainly if not entirely in his own language, so that his influence does not reach beyond the limits of Japan as it ought to do. He is however a prolific writer and a thoughtful one, and I venture to think that every serious student of Japan would do well to study his writings.

Dr. Inouye has, of late years, turned his attention to the exposition of Japanese philosophical systems, both in his capacity as a professor, and as a maker of books. In 1900 he commenced his activity in this direction by the publication of a treatise "On the Philosophy of the Yōmei School in Japan (王陽明) a work which was followed two years later, in 1902, by another treatise, along similar lines, dealing with the "Philosophy of the (so-called) Classical School in Japan." (*Kogaku-ha* 古學派). The first of those two books dealt with the philosophy, mainly Confucian, expounded by the Chinese thinker of the Ming Dynasty, Wang-Yang-Ming, in Japanese pronunciation *Ō-yō-Mei;* the other with the activities of the conservative philosophers of the old school who opposed the newer and innovating tendencies of the so-called Shushi thinkers. The volume now before me represents the Professor's researches into the Shushi tenets against which the "Old School" was a protest. The book, which has been, like its predecessors,

worked up from University lectures, was published at the end of November 1905.

The Shushi School.

Of the three schools of Confucian thought—Ōyōmei, Kogakuha, and Shushi,—the last-named was the most influential and prominent during the whole of the Tokugawa period. It is a quiet system which makes for solidity rather than show, and the tendency of Shushi disciples is to become gentle, humble, and truthful—these being the moral virtues upon which Shushi lays the most stress. It is a philosophy which is the very reverse of utilitarian, and its teachers claim that the perfecting of the human character is the chief end and aim of their system. It may be called a method of Self-Culture, and many of its maxims tally almost verbally with those of British Neo-Kantians, such as Green or Muirhead.

It is, like all Confucian thought, a doctrine of the "golden mean." It contains, therefore, very little in the way of striking theories or novelties of thought, but it has produced a long list of "saintly" sages, who form its principal title to glory. Fujiwara Seikwa, Hayashi Razan, Kinoshita Junan, Andō Seian, Muro Kyusō, Nakamura Tekisai, Kaibara Ekiken, are men whom the whole nation has learned to venerate as examples of practical piety, and it is perhaps not too much to say that the wonderful qualities exhibited by the whole of Japan during the testing experiences of the Russo-Japanese war were in a large measure owing to the system of education under the Tokugawas, which was almost entirely in the hands of Shushi thinkers. The study of the Shushi philosophy is therefore a valuable guide to the study of the Japanese people.

A Short Summary of Confucian History in Japan.

Confucianism was introduced into Japan through Korea about the year 284 A. D. Like the religion of Moses it was in its first origins a simple, strictly ethical code, based on a belief in a just, all-powerful, all-seeing, and all-judging Heaven. Like the religion of Moses it had become

hardened into a doctrine of dead literalism which had robbed it of all its vigour, so that when it first reached these shores it was a fossil rather than a living organism. It barely took root, it cannot be said to have flourished, for the more active Mahâyâna Buddhism, like the thorns in the parable, "choked the word" and "made it unfruitful." Yet, even in the Kamakura Days it had its adherents, and with the accession of Iyeyasu it acquired a power for which it had long been prepared. The Confucianist Renaissance in Japan was not uninfluenced by China. Confucius had lived and taught in that universal dawn of philosophy, the fifth century before Christ, and from the out-burst of philosophic thought which followed his teachings we may infer that China might have had before her a philosophic period as bright as that of Greece, had not the tyranny of the Emperor She Hwang of Tsin (B.C. 221-210) put an end to the liberty of philosophic thought in China. From this date for over a thousand years Confucianism was a dead formalism, and it was in this form that it was brought over to Japan. Its restoration to activity and vigour dates from the time when Shushi (Chin. Choo He A.D. 1130-1200) set himself up as an interpreter of Confucianism, and in so doing really founded a new philosophy which went by the name of Confucius, but was in fact Shushi with a few additions from the earlier sage. There is a story told of a village barber in England who confuted the village atheist by asking him on what text of the Bible he founded his doctrine that there was no God: what the Bible was in England in the eighteenth century that Confucius was in China in the 10th. Shushi was obliged to set up Confucius before him as his Great Exemplar; but in reality he was much more than a mere annotator. He posed as a simple interpreter: he was in reality the founder of a new school. Shushi was the Apostle of Self Culture, and freeing himself from the ceremonialism and literalism of the Confucian Law he offered perfection to every disciple who would look within and learn to cultivate his own heart.

In Japan the Shushi school came into prominence at once, for its practical excellencies were readily discerned. Almost all the Confucian thought in this country represents the tenets of this neo-Confucianist thinker, who differed very widely on many points from the thinkers of the other schools of Chinese philosophy.

Characteristics of the Shushi.

It is the object of the Shushi School to aim at perfection moral as well as intellectual, and to an equal degree. The followers of Yōmei were inclined to put moral practice before intellectual excellence: the literalists of the Classical School esteemed orthodoxy more highly than moral excellence. In the Shushi a distinct effort was made to balance the two tendencies on an equal poise. And yet, even with the Shushi, the main stress was laid on moral culture. For the use of learning was to aid morals: it was never an end in itself, but always a means to the great end which the educator should always have before himself. It was in this tendency that the Japanese discerned the principal value of the Shushi as an element in education.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SHUSHI PHILOSOPHY IN JAPAN.

CHAPTER I.

The characteristics of the Shushi school will become more distinct if we pass on with Dr. Inouye to consider the lives and teachings of some of the more prominent Shushi Sages.

1. Fujiwara Seikwa. 1561-1619.

A member of a branch family of the noble House of Fujiwara, which for so many years held power in Japan, always to its own advantage and not always to the advantage of the country, Fujiwara Seikwa, born just after Hideyoshi's temporary pacification of the Empire, near the close of the dark ages of Civil Strife, was forced by the unjust spoliation of his father, to take refuge in a Buddhist monastery, the only place in troublous times for quiet souls like his. Like many another famous thinker in Japan he first selected the great monastery of Hieizan near Kyoto; but a few years later, when Hideyoshi was preparing for his ill-starred expedition to Korea, we find him at Nagoya, on terms of friendship with Tokugawa Iyeyasu and beginning the study of Chinese philosophy as well as of Buddhism. A little later he visited Yedo, but returned again to Kyoto, where he lived as before in a Buddhist Temple. But here he came across Shushi's notes to Confucius, and this new interpretation of the Chinese sage so moved his heart and mind that he resolved to break entirely with Buddhism and to devote his whole energies to the new teaching. For this purpose he went into retirement near Kyoto, where he enjoyed the friendship of Iyeyasu, though his mind was too independent

to accept his patronage. Besides the friendship of Iyeyasu he also enjoyed the esteem of the Emperor Go-Kōmyō who described him as a "generous large-minded saint."

Fujiwara's Teachings. Fujiwara's teachings reminds us at times of the New Testament. St. James tells us of a "Wisdom that is from above," which is "pure," "peaceable," "full of mercy and good fruits." Fujiwara speaks of a quality which he calls "Bright Virtue" (明德), which is derived from Heaven, as a natural endowment for man, and which is the express image of the "way of Heaven." The perfect man is he in whom this Bright Virtue is allowed to have its perfect work. It is not in all men that it can thus be brought to perfection; for when man is born, human concupiscence is born with him, and lust when it has conceived doth bring forth sin, the Bright Virtue is tarnished by the overgrowing concupiscence, and the Way of Heaven is lost. Concupiscence must be killed and the only means to kill the noxious weed is the cultivation of one's self—the Garden of the Soul.

The Essential Quality of Heaven (it is apparently as difficult for the Oriental Mind to grasp the conception of a personal God as it is for the Occidental to understand a Heaven which has all the attributes of personality, and yet is not personal) the Essential Quality of Heaven is Mercy (仁), the chief virtue of man, Charity. Charity, like Mercy, grows by ever-widening circles. It begins at home, with those nearest, it ends by reaching, in the perfect man, to the entire circle of mankind.

But though Mercy is the Essential Quality of Heaven, and Charity the chief Virtue of Man, there is nevertheless, just as St. Paul says, a continual contradiction between the Way of Heaven and the Way of Man: and it is owing to this contradiction that good men are so few. It is the Way of Heaven that man should learn to be loyal, dutiful, and self-sacrificing, and man's task is, by self-culture, to make his conduct square with the Way of Heaven.

Unlike some of the later scholars of the Shushi school Fujiwara tried to harmonize existing religions. He saw points of resemblance between the Shinto religion which insists on purity of mind and love to mankind, and the teachings of Confucius on the same point. He accepted the Buddhist doctrine of *Karma*, though with modifications. His conception of Karma was the Christian idea that God visits the sins of the fathers upon the children, and shows mercy from father to son in a still more striking manner.

He took a deep interest in commerce and commercial morality. Commerce, he said, is a transaction by which one man is profited by another: where one man gets a profit by inflicting loss on another, there is no true commerce. In every true commercial transaction both parties should share in the profit, for profit is the happy outcome of justice.

In dealing with men of a foreign race, it should be remembered that all men share the gifts of Heaven, irrespective of colour, race, and language—("God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth.") Our transactions with foreigners should therefore be conducted on absolutely the same principles as those that actuate us in our dealings with our countrymen.

Heaven is merciful to all men. So should we be. Human passions are like the angry waves, only far more terrible. And of all passions the most terrible are those which drive a man to wine and to women.

"There is no falsehood in Heaven" is a favourite maxim of his which finds expression in many a drama, notably in Hagoromo, a play written about Seikwa's time or a little earlier.

A quiet, independent, thinker, living in retirement near Kyoto and asking no favour from the great, Fujiwara Seikwa was too wide and liberal to be the successful founder of an active school of thought. He was, however, the pioneer of the Shushi principles in Japan, and his life, pious and unostentatious, was the best possible exponent of his teachings.

2. Hayashi Razan. 1583-1672.

Fujiwara Seikwa's activity coincided with the early preachings of the Catholic Missionaries in Japan. He does not however seem to have been antagonistic to the Christian Faith. Rather, acting on his general principle, he seems to have sought to discover common points of belief and practice between the Doctrine he taught and the Faith which the missionaries brought with them. We find a change in this respect when we come to Seikwa's successor, Hayashi Razan (A.D. 1583-1672), the teacher whose influence was constantly behind Iyemitsu, and who laid down in broad outlines the educational system followed throughout the whole of the Tokugawa Period. Like his master, Hayashi began his intellectual life in a Buddhist monastery, but he never took any of the vows of a Buddhist priest. When quite a young man he renounced Buddhism altogether and devoted himself exclusively to the propagation of Shushi doctrines.

Hayashi was only twenty-two years of age when he entered himself as one of Seikwa's disciples. But he had already read a great deal of Chinese philosophy, and had formed his own views touching the Confucian doctrines. He was not prepared therefore to become an out and out follower of Seikwa, highly though he esteemed his character and personality. Indeed he was at the very opposite pole of thought; for whereas Seikwa was gentle towards all forms and creeds, Hayashi was a vigorous assailant of all that was not Shushi. Yōmei and Shaka, Laotze and Christ,—all fell alike under his somewhat bigoted censure.

Hayashi's Teachings.

In much of his teaching he was a strict follower of Shushi. Thus he adopted from his predecessors in the School, the doctrines of *ten mei*, or Providence, of *in-yō*, or the negative and positive principles, of infinity, human nature, etc., etc. In cosmogony, he rejected the dualism of Shushi, and embraced the monism advocated by Yōmei. He rejected Laotze as being opposed to Confucianism, without perceiving that much of Laotze's doctrine is identical

with the teachings of Confucianism. He hated Buddhists as foes of society without apparently considering that within Buddhism itself, in the Shinshu sects, there being was made a vigorous protest against the asceticism was which so repugnant to him. To the European reader he will be mainly interesting as having composed three articles attacking Christianity, which was during his life time in the throes of its death-struggle against the power of the newly-established Shogunal tyranny.

Hayashi Razan's attack on Christianity.

Christianity, with its teachings of a strict monogamy so contrary to the popular conceptions of the period, its claims to universality, and its appeals to a power outside and beyond the limits of the Empire, seemed to him to be a most dangerous system, and one which could only end in the ultimate subversion of the family and society. With Shinto he had no quarrel: indeed he spoke of it as the "Royal Way," between which and Confucianism there could be no antagonism or conflict.

3. Kinoshita Junan. A.D. 1621-1698.

Kinoshita Junan was an indirect follower of Seikwa's, with whom he was in no sense a contemporary. Nor does he seem to have had any personal contact with Hayashi Razan. He was a pedagogue by vocation, and from his home school in Kyoto were turned out quite a number of famous scholars.

He was a man who seemed to realize very fully the reality of the Divine Omnipresence and Omniscience. "Heaven," he was wont to say to his disciples, "is just three feet above a man's head," high enough to keep him humble, and near enough to fill him with reverent awe and circumspectness. One day a scholar asked him to explain what was meant by the saying "God is intelligent, upright and One." "It means" answered Kinoshita, "that He knows what we have in our minds at the very moment our thoughts arise, that He judges with impartiality, that He is always the same," and a cold shudder ran through his audience as they suddenly realized the nearness of the Divine Presence. "The way of

every man is before the eyes of God and he measureth all their acts," said Solomon in his Proverbs. Kinoshita had no special tenets of his own, but was contented with the *rôle* of expounding Shushi, as Shushi expounded Confucius. In his own life he was constantly mindful of the Divine Presence, and even in the privacy of his own room, where he could not be disturbed by visitors, would sit in a dignified and solemn position as one who was always assisting at some great Court Ceremony.

Amenomori Hōshū. 1621-1708.

We next come to Amenomori Hōshū, who, though not a great light, even in the Shushi School, still deserves a passing mention.

Those who have read the life of Sidotti the Italian priest, whose missionary zeal brought him to the forbidden shores of Japan, just a few months before the death of Amenomori, must have been struck with the imposing personality of Arai Hakuseki, the wise statesman whose unhappy lot it was to sit in Judgment on the zealous missionary. While we give due weight to all Arai's words we feel much more powerfully the gravity of his character and person. We feel that he may very well have been a disciple of the Shushi school-teacher Amenomori. "Most men," said Amenomori, "when they undertake to speak about the Way, speak with their lips only and their words reach only to the ears of those that hear them. But what can be done by a teaching that does not touch the heart? If you would accomplish anything, you must *teach by personality*."

True to the Japanese instincts of compromise and identification, Amenomori boldly proclaimed the identity of the three great religions of China. Laotse, Shaka, and Confucius, he maintained, all meant the same thing, though their words and expressions were different. When Buddha spoke of Emptiness, he spoke of the Nature of the Taoists and the Reason of the Confucians. The "three great teachers are the fathers of all fathers"—"they are the revealers of the one way of Heaven under different forms."

"There is a real utility," he taught, "in charity and justice. But men should not be urged to deeds of charity and justice for the sake of the utility that lies behind them. The true Sage bids men do deeds of virtue for virtue's own sake, and never for the sake of the accruing reward.

"The Sage," he said on another occasion, "is the home of pleasure. What that pleasure is every one knows. But it is not every one that knows how to attain to it; for pleasure is not found by those that seek for it. Pleasure comes naturally to the man who is conscious of doing what he ought."

Amenomori's Attitude toward Shinto.

We have already seem that the early Shushi teachers looked with favour upon Shinto. Amenomori evidently did the same. The School which produced Mabuchi and Motoori was already, in Amenomori's time, busily engaged in the revival of those ancient Shinto legends which account so strangely for the origin of the Japanese people, and Amenomori felt the force of that coming revival. He spoke strongly about the divine origin of the Japanese people, and looked upon it as so many have done, before and since, as a nation *sui generis*,—the direct offspring of the gods, with Heaven-descended ancestors.

5. Ando Seian. 1622-1701.

The fifth in the list of Shushi teachers mentioned by Dr. Inouye is Andō Seian, one of those uncomfortable personages to whom life was nothing but a continual poring over books. "Eating" he considered, "is a matter of secondary importance. If a man does not eat, he will die, and that will be the end of him. But if he does not study he will sink to the condition of a brute, and it is better to die than to become a beast."

Once he fell from grace, and abandoned his desk of his own free will. He was very young at the time, and may perhaps be forgiven on that score. In his sixteenth year the Shimabara rebellion broke out, and, weak and delicate though he was, he struggled on to a horse and went forth to help his

feudal lord, the Baron of Yanagawa, to put down the contumacious Christians.

During the rest of his long life (he lived to be eighty) nothing ever again tempted him to take exercise. He spent his days at his desk, reading and teaching, and his sole study was the philosophy of Confucius as expounded by Shushi. In the acquirement of this learning he was not only generous but self-denying. The small allowance of rice which, as a samurai, he received from the lord of Yanagawa he divided with a Chinese philosopher, Shu Shunsui, a political refugee who afterwards found a home in the territories of the Prince of Mito, and from whom he learned a great deal of philosophic wisdom. He seems to have been withal a modest and retiring man, and forbade his son to erect a monument or tomb to his memory, to write his life, or to attempt the publication of his literary essays. The essays have apparently survived in spite of his wishes,—as to his biography, a life spent entirely at a desk cannot have been very full of interesting incidents.

His line of teaching seems to have been one calculated to reconcile the diversities of conflicting schools. Just as among Christian theologians there have been those who believed in the soul's gradual but constant growth in grace, whilst others have advocated the necessity of a sudden and sensible conversion from sin to God, so was it amongst the Confucianist doctors. The Sage Shuki and his followers had taught that progress in moral culture must be slow and imperceptible, whilst Riku Shōzan, possibly under Zen influence, had advocated the theory of a sudden conversion or enlightenment. It is worth remembering that during the early Tokugawa period a new sect of Zen Buddhism, the so-called Ōbaku, was brought from China by political refugees, and that it received much consideration from Confucianist scholars in Japan. It has never been a numerous sect, but its influence has been and is far greater than its numerical importance. Hayashi Razan, and indeed most of

the Shushi philosophers, had taken part in the controversy, started apparently by Ōbaku preachers and had pleaded with considerable warmth that the doctrine of sudden conversion or enlightenment, was beneath the dignity of the Confucianist Faith. Seian's opinions were modest and sensible. He refused to pass any opinion adverse to either side. Both parties, he said, had before them the same object, the attainment of perfection. The controversy was one as to means and not as to end, and the means had to be adapted to the characters, temperaments, and circumstances of men. Progress was sometimes gradual and imperceptible, and sometimes sudden and sensible. He thus sought to bring harmony out of diversity.

Seian's conciliating spirit showed itself in another controversy. Shushi had spoken of two eternal principles—*Ri* (reason, principle, law) and *Ki* (energy or vitality)—the former corresponding with the spirit in man, and the latter with his passions or soul. He had not however expressed himself very clearly, and his followers were not unanimous at to whether their master had been a monist or a dualist—whether be had believed in two eternal and co-equal Powers in the Universe, *Ri* and *Ki*, or whether be had believed in their ultimate identity, or their subordination to some superior though less conspicuous Power behind them. Seian's object was to prove that Shushi had been a monist. *Ri*, he says, is observable in *Ki*. Reason does not exist apart from Energy. Energy in the Universe never acts blindly, but always in accordance with Reason. He concluded therefore that there was behind both Reason and Energy, a third Power which coordinated both, and kept the Universe in harmonious working under its supreme governance. That supreme Being he found in Shushi's writings. It is what Shushi in the Book of Eki calls "*the Infinite*" or "*Infinity*"—the Ruler over all.

The Catholic Christian will at once recognize the similarity of Seian's teaching on this point with his own Faith touching

the nature of God. *Ri* reason, λόγος—corresponds to the Second-Person of the Trimity. *Ki*—spirit, πνεῦμα—to the Third. Behind both is "*the Infinite*"—the indescribable God Whom we speak of as the "Father." Seian would have spoken of the Supreme Being as *It:* the Christian speaks of God as *He*. *It* and *He* mark the difference between Seian's conception of God and the Christian Faith.

With regard to Seian's moral teachings Professor Inouye gives us a few of his moral sayings which are of interest. "Never seek to be famous." "If a man knows himself he will never be disturbed by the evil words and malicious sayings of others." "What man cannot do, Heaven* can." "Do what you ought to do with all your might, and leave Heaven to do the rest." "Falsehood should be hated above all other evils." "Always be true to yourself."

6. Muro Kyūsō. 1658-1734.

Amongst the disciples of Kinoshita Junan, who was all his life a pedagogue, may be reckoned *Muro Kyūsō*, whom Dr. Inouye places next in the Shushi Succession of teachers. But little is known of his life, and that little may be gathered from a rule of life which he adopted when he was 24 years old and from which he never departed. Indeed, his rule of life may be looked upon in the light of a religious vow, for it was made in the form of an Act of Devotion to the spirit of Kwan kō (the posthumous name of Sugawara Michizane, the first, and in some ways the greatest, of Japanese Confucianists.) His rule was as follows:

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* The use of the word *Heaven* in Chinese and Japanese books is often taken as implying a disbelief in the Personality of God. This is not necessarily the case. We know the Oriental dislike of speaking of the Personal Ruler of the Country except by some impersonal periphrasis, such as the Sublime Porte, the Mikado etc. The same feeling, transferred to God, would prompt the use of the impersonal periphrasis instead of the actual name, and though in some cases there is an intentional thought of Impersonality in the periphrasis, in many cases it is merely a reverential manner of speaking about a Deity who is after all only dimly known.

1.—To rise every morning about six, and to retire about midnight, unless prevented by sickness, or guests.

2.—To dress himself in the morning before his desk, and when once seated there never to move again except for necessary business.

3.—When vain thoughts came to his mind whilst sitting at his desk to check them instantaneously and in a loud voice, and to punish himself severely for every such lapse from his rigid life.

4.—Never to speak an idle or unnecessary word, not even to servants.

5.—To eat enough to satisfy the pangs of hunger, never to excess, and never at improper times.

6.—To check all sensual thoughts and sexual desires, promptly and unsparingly.

7.—Never to read hurriedly or desultorily, but always deliberately and with understanding.

8.—To be strict in the discharge of all duties, and to allow no thought of gain or fame to disturb the mind in the pursuit of knowledge.

It is evident that a life strictly lived according to this rule can afford no material for the biographer. Muro Kyūsō's importance lies in his written thoughts rather than in his actions, of these Dr. Inouye gives an interesting account of which the following is an imperfect summary.

In his philosophical tenets he was a blind follower of Shushi whose teachings he accepted with an implicit confidence which took no heed of the controversies of his day or the criticisms of his contemporaries. His attitude towards Shushi was one worthy of the Mahometan Caliph who ordered the destruction of the Great Library at Alexandria. "If our country," he said, "were under the rule of one who was a true sage, he would order all books other than Shushi's to be collected and burned so that Shushi alone might be studied and followed."

Muro Kyūsō's ethical thoughts are more worthy of study than his philosophic theories, which are mere echoes of Shushi. Dr. Inouye gives us some specimens which shew that he could sometimes think for himself and that his sayings were worthy of being remembered.

"A virtuous man," he would say, "is always mindful of his inner self. He is like a man that wears an ordinary garment over a vesture of splendid brocade. He seems to the eye to be but a mean person, and yet in spite of all his efforts at concealment the hidden beauty of the brocade will continually peep out from under the shabby over-coat." Dr. Inouye sees in this sentence a resemblance to the words of Christ "there is nothing hid which shall not be made manifest," but the resemblance does not seem very strikingly close, for Our Lord apparently had something quite different in his mind.

Again,

"Wherever the Seat of Self is, there is the substance of all thought. Before any thought arises there is always self (*Cogito ergo Sum*). Be true to Self, and see that it is always kept sacred and undefiled by falsehood, idle, or impure thoughts, and then the whole Universe will receive its order from that Self, yea, the very gods will come under its power.".....

....."The root of evil lies in the innermost recesses of the mind. When you are all by yourself, a thought, faint and unformed, will arise in your mind, and that is the beginning of good or evil. Therefore be always on your guard when you are alone. Evil Thoughts lead to evil deeds; root out evil thoughts from your mind."

Shushi's opponent, Ōyōmei, who advocated the identity of intellect and action, had charged Shushi with teaching that action is subsequent to knowledge. To this charge, Kyūsō replies:

"We are daily learning more and more from daily experience of the principles of every virtue, and thus we make progress step by step. What we do not know to-day and cannot therefore put into practice, we may both know and do to-morrow. The more the intellect takes part in our moral life, the greater is the virtue."

In speaking of charity, Kyūsō's words seem to Dr. Inouye to bear a resemblance to the well-known sentiments of St. Paul.

"Charity is to the mind, what life is to the body. When life ceases the body dies, when charity has ceased the soul is dead. Every action of man is a manifestation of the life that is in him, and the charity that is within us manifests itself naturally when we see our parents and cannot help loving them, when we see our Sovereign and cannot refrain from acts of loyalty and devotion. This natural action of our minds has a normal tendency to grow stronger and stronger unless let and hindered by evil passions. Be true to yourself, and you will constantly and spontaneously make progress in the virtue of charity."

In another passage, speaking of the "Way of the Samurai" (*Bushido*), he has a sentence which is of some importance as well as interest :—

"To the Samurai, righteousness comes always first, as the matter of the greatest importance. Then comes life, and after that money. Always do what is right, even though the doing of it cost you your life."

In speaking of the gods, he said :—

"Everybody knows that a god is upright, but we do not always think of a god as being intelligent. God (and we must remember that Kyūsō possibly had before his mind the Supreme Being whom we spoke of in our notice of Andō Seian)—God knows all things instantaneously without using ears or eyes. Nothing but the genuine truth can move him."

In politics, he was a devoted and ardent eulogizer of Tokugawa Iyeyasu. For the Taikō Hideyoshi he had but a scant measure of praise, for he looked upon him as cruel and vulgar, and far from the appreciation of virtue. He did not attach much importance to the Mikado, nor consider him to have much claim on the loyalty of the people. He was out and out a Shōgun's man, a fact which some modern expounders of Japanese history would do well to bear in mind.

He did not think much of the Buddhists as a powerful factor in regenerating mankind.

"The Buddhists," he says, "seek for purification by withdrawing themselves from the rest of mankind. But whilst withdrawing from their fellow-men they are unable to withdraw from themselves, and consequently fail to attain their object. They place happiness in a Paradise outside of the world: but the true Paradise is amongst men, and why then forsake it to seek another beyond this life? It is merely selfishness to seek for happiness by a withdrawal from the duties of humanity."

One more extract from Kyūsō must suffice. It is on Freedom.

"Freedom makes men inhuman, Man should not be free. A carpenter does his work not freely but according to rules and after a design or pattern. A good character can only be formed by avoiding freedom."

We can find the same thought in Christian theology. "Whose service is perfect freedom"—*quem nosse libertas*—are the words with which we have been taught to come into the presence of God—happy because we serve.

CHAPTER II.

Shushi philosophers not of the School of Fujiwara.

The philosophers whom we have hitherto been considering may all be considered as the intellectual descendants of Fujiwara Seikwa whom we have already spoken of as the Japanese patriarch of the Shushi philosophy: and it is saying a great deal in his praise when history records that within half a century of his death his followers had become so numerous and so influential,—and that too in a time of intellectual unrest such as the seventeenth century was in Japan,—the century which saw the passing away of the old Feudalism with its Buddhist Supremacy, the conflict with and practical extinction of Christianity as a factor in the intellectual life of the nation, the establishment of the Confucianist supremacy with the support of the strong arm of the Tokugawas, and the birth of the Imperialist and Shinto movement which was destined one day to destroy the Shogunate. In the second part of his volume of lectures, Professor Inouye points out, however, that there were other philosophers, not of the intellectual lineage of Fujiwara Seikwa, who were yet disciples of Shushi whom they approached by a road of their own, notably Nakamura Tekisai and Kaibara Ekiken, to whom he devotes much attention.

1. Nakamura Tekisai. 1629-1702.

Like all the philosophers of his age, Nakamura led a life of simplicity and retirement in Kyoto, so that he was in truth what Dr. Inouye calls him—"a Saint hidden in a town." The following anecdotes will, I think, show his character.

He was the son of a merchant, and in process of time became the head, by virtue of inheritance, of a mercantile house. He was not a man of much business shrewdness, and in course of time it was discovered that one of his clerks had been cheating him right and left. The family were, of course, loudly indignant, and clamoured to have the embezzling clerk punished

by the law. But when the matter was mooted, as such things are in Japan, before the family council, Nakamura as head of the house, refused point-blank to entertain the proposition. "To bring the man to trial," he said, "would be to ruin him for life, not only in a worldly sense, but in his character and hopes of amendment, and why should I expose a man to ruin for the sake of a little money?" His determination cost him a good round sum of money, but he stuck to his point and went on carrying the precepts of his philosophy into daily life. His consistency gained him the confidence and admiration of those who knew him, and we may at least express the charitable hope that it was not without effect on the peccant employé. Nakamura certainly carried out in literal simplicity the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount.

Another characteristic story is the following. A fire had broken out in the neighbourhood of his house, and as the wind was blowing in his direction it seemed for some time that his house was doomed. According to the neighbourly ways of Japan, all his friends and acquaintance came to help him to save his property, but, whilst they were in the midst of moving the furniture, the wind veered round, and Nakamura's property was saved. Every one congratulated him on his deliverance, but he refused their congratulations. "We must remember," he said, "that the wind which has just saved me from anxiety has brought distress to those who are unfortunately now on the wrong side of the fire. We should feel for them exactly the same sorrow that we felt just now for ourselves."

There is a self complacency about this latter anecdote which jars us as we read it. Nakamura forgot that the friends who had come to his assistance had done so because they felt sympathy for him, and not from any sense of personal danger. It has always seemed that a too ardent devotion to Confucian ethics tends to make a man "a bit of a prig," and this tendency is apt to become intensified when the philosopher is a self-taught man, as was Nakamura, who claimed never to have had

a living teacher, but culled all his wisdom for himself from the pages of Shushi.

We will give a few characteristic extracts from Nakamura's writings.

1.—*On Charity.*

Man, says Nakamura, is born through the operation of the principle of life, which is the Law of Nature. Every man is endowed with this principle when he is born, and this principle, which is love, constitutes the essence of the moral or heart-virtues, operating upon everything with which it comes in contact except where hindered by selfish passions. There is thus but one great principle operating in the Universe. View it as a natural law, and it is called "Life," as a moral virtue, and it is "Love," and the only thing which in any way interferes with its operation is the principle known as "self." To deny or forget "self" is therefore the way to find this good principle operating through the whole system of man. The more it acts the stronger it grows, operating in the end unconsciously and irresistibly just as Nature does. When a man has reached the stage of development at which this takes place, he is called a Sage.

2.—*On Self-examination.*

Shushi has given us three steps in Moral Culture,--Self-Control, Intellectual Acquisition, and Effort. The Control of Self sets the mind at rest, and the mind when left to itself will invariably act according to the laws of nature. We thus obtain a gradual harmonizing of the outward action with the inward thought, and the more attention is paid to outward action the more will the inward self be assisted along the path of moral progress.

Intellectual Acquisition in a Confucianist's mouth means acquiring a knowledge of the principles of virtue. This acquisition is rendered easy by the practice of self control, upon which it has a reacting influence so that the more a man learns of the principles of virtue the more easy it becomes for him to practice self-control.

Effort, again, is most effectual when a man examines himself in the absolute secrecy of his own heart. If at such time, when no third person is by to listen to the voice of conscience, a man finds nothing to be ashamed of, it may be concluded that he has a conscience "void of offence," and this in Confucianist teaching is the highest stage of moral advancement. Let a man examine his conduct stringently, passing every thought, word, and deed, under the ordeal of his own searchlight, and listen whether he hears no whisper of shame in the auditorium of his inmost heart.

3.—*On Life and Death.*

What is a righteous death? It is a sin to seek death unnecessarily. Why? Because the body in which you live is your parent's gift to you, and even to injure it wilfully or through negligence is a sin against the donors. But there will come times when your mind will hover in its judgment between life and death, and at such times it is better to seek death than to covet life. But if a man allow himself to become too familiar with this idea, he will be apt to fall into the error of seeking death prematurely, that is, when sober judgment would not approve of the deed. A man should therefore continually cultivate the practice of a calm mind, for that is the only infallible judge on the question of self-sought death.

4.—*Deity.*

If we consider the sublimity and grandeur of the Universe we cannot resist the impulse to sanctify ourselves in order that we may devote ourselves to the service of the deity which is its soul. But the Universe is but a large edition, vaster and more distant, of our own soul, and enthroned in the soul we find the same deity that we find in the Universe, for it is the prerogative of deity that it shines in every nook and corner of creation. The deity that resides in a man's own heart cannot be deceived, and it is well for man to serve him truly, so that every word, thought, and act, may be correct. It is by the cultivation of

this deity that a man can attain to the dignity of a sage who has no reason to be ashamed of himself.

Professor Inouye's judgment on Nakamura Tekisai is that, whilst all his views fall well within the limits of the Shushi school, he was in no way an idealist, but a practical philosopher, a lover of peace, and a truly saintly man. We will now pass on to the consideration of Kaibara Ekiken, the next on the list of the Shushi succession.

2. Kaibara Ekiken. 1630-1714.

Kaibara Ekiken, "great" as Shushi philosopher, "greatest" as a social philosopher, was the son of a court physician to the Daimyo of Fukuoka in Chikuzen, the head of the famous house of Kuroda. He wrote a great many books, all in the popular style, and in this was entirely at variance with the practice of other Confucianist writers, who never dreamed that their lucubrations could possibly interest any but the most select *côterie* of learned men, and who consequently always wrote either in pure Chinese or in a hard style of classical Japanese. Of Kaibara's daily life Professor Inouye does not give us many details, but there are one or two land-marks of intellectual development which need to be remembered.

As a boy, he was a devout Buddhist and very regular in his attendance at the services and lectures of a Buddhist temple. When about 14 years old, his elder brother told him that Buddhism was an error, and Kaibara, being convinced by his arguments, gave up Buddhism, and became a Confucianist. For 20 years or so, he was a disciple of Riku Shōzan and Ō Yōmei, but at the age of thirty-six he fell in with a book explaining the differences between these teachers and Shushi, and, just as before he had renounced Buddhism, so now he threw over his first Confucianist teachers and became with a whole-hearted devotion a follower of the Shushi philosophy. Fourteen or fifteen years later, when he was over fifty, he began to find that there were some points in Shushi's philosophy with which he could not agree; but he never broke away from his

allegiance to the Chinese Sage and always spoke of him with the utmost deference and humility, in spite of conflicting views on cosmogony and human nature. About the same time that he became a disciple of Shushi he married a young wife of 17 years of age. This lady was afterward known by the *nom de plume* of Token, and became the authoress of the celebrated work on female education known as the *Onna Daigaku* or Great Learning of Woman. The work has by some been attributed to Kaibara himself, but it seems a juster view to say that it was written and published by Token, though not without the sympathy and help of her husband, who from a literary point of view stood to her in a relation not unlike that occupied by G.H. Lewes to George Eliot.

His humility is illustrated by the story of the modest inscription which he wrote for a monument erected to the memory of the famous loyalist Nanko, and there is an anecdote of the patience with which he listened to a dissertation on Confucianism delivered by an ignorant and conceited young man to whom he did not reveal his name until forced to do so by circumstances.

He studied many things; amongst others, music, poetry, and a little medicine. In the first of these sciences, he showed himself a true disciple of Confucius, who reckoned music as one of the six accomplishments necessary for the philosopher. The instruments of his choice were the *biwa* and the flute (*sho*), in poetry he bestowed all his admiration on the short *waka* epigrams, to the exclusion of the Chinese rhymes and metres for which he had the greatest contempt, and his dying poem well illustrates the peaceful character of the life he was about to leave when he composed it.

Koshikata wa
Hito yo bakari no
Kokochi shite,
Yasoji amari no
Yume wo mishi kana.

"My long past life seems but a single night:
For all my eighty years and more have sped
Like one sweet dream of gentle happiness."

His medical studies may have been due to his intention of following his father's profession, and possibly he had some hopes of succeeding to his father's post at the Fukuoka Court. When, as a young man, he came up to Yedo, he shaved his head at Kawasaki after the fashion then prevailing amongst physicians; but after giving in his adhesion to the Shushi philosophy he discarded this fashion, had his hair done in the ordinary style of a layman, and called himself by his proper name of Kyūbei instead of by his affected literary pseudonym of Ekiken.

Kaibara's philosophy. and His views on Confucius Mencius Shushi, and others.

It was Kaibara's opinion that there was none to be compared as a teacher of mankind to "*our* Confucius," whose "way of the golden mean" was absolutely correct and faultless, and who therefore alone deserved the appellation of the "Sage." Mencius was not a *Sage*, but a "*wise man*" (*kensha*). He had not that absolute freedom from bias which distinguished his master above all other men. He could never therefore compete in perfection with Confucius, but to us he is valuable as having lived near to Confucius both in time and in place, and as having been the main channel through which the Confucian tradition has come down to us. Kaibara further thought that after Mencius there was no Confucianist teacher of pre-eminent merit until we come to Shushi and the other great scholars of the Sung Dynasty. These scholars, and especially Shushi, were the true interpreters of Confucius, and deserved therefore to be ranked with Mencius, not as *sages* but as "wise men" (*kensha*)—men to be revered and reverenced, but not to be accepted as infallible, some of their opinions, such as, e.g. Shushi's views on Nature and Cosmogony, being open to doubt.

Of Riku Shōzan and Ō Yōmei he deemed that they were

both of them Zen Buddhists disguised as Confucianists. The former, for instance, stoutly maintained a doctrine not unlike to that of sudden conversion. It was not necessary, he argued, that there should always be a gradual growth in knowledge and intelligence; for the eyes of the intellect are sometimes suddenly opened and the Truth apprehended at one bound. Ō Yōmei also was infected with the same Zen heresy, and his teaching of the essential unity of knowledge and action was likely to lead men astray from the purity of Confucianist principles. Kaibara therefore refused to allow to these two writers an equality with Shushi. He ranked them with the teachers of the Kogakusha or Classical School, as imperfect expounders of the teachings of the Sage. Yet there is nothing harsh in his attitude towards them, and a careful perusal of his work will show that his system does actually comprehend all that is best in all these Confucianist doctors.

b. Kaibara on Cosmogony. Kaibara's intense admiration for Shushi did not prevent him from differing from his master on his views of Cosmogony. Shushi is a dualist, posing two first principles, *ri* and *ki*, from which all things are deduced according to his system. It is true that he gave *taikyoku* (infinity) as the basal principle out of which all things were produced by the interaction of *ri* and *ki*, and has for this reason been sometimes viewed as a monist. But a deeper study of Shushi will show that he identifies *taikyoku* with *ri*, so that he is still practically a dualist. Ō Yōmei, on the other hand, knows nothing of *taikyoku*: he poses but two principles, *ri* and *ki*, and these he affirms to be but different aspects of one and the same thing; and in this practical monism Kaibara agrees with him as against Shushi.

"*Ri* and *Ki*" (he says in a quotation given by Dr. Inouye) "must be one and identical, and when Shushi tries to distinguish them one from the other I fail to follow him. *Ri* cannot exist apart from *ki*, nor *ki* without *ri*. Neither of them is prior to the other, nor are they capable either of being confounded

together or of being separated. The *ri* is not a separate substance, but it is *ri* of the *ki*."

The relation which *ri*, "principle," bears to *ki*, "energy," is thus described:

"Energy is something which is ever moving, ever changing, ever operating, ever productive of life. It always moves, changes, and operates in perfect order, and that which enables it to do so is energy or principle. Energy will, it is true, sometimes operate in a disorderly fashion, but that is not its normal condition. Its normal condition is, and always must be, in accordance with the nature of "principle," and therefore right. You may liken principle to water, which is essentially pure, but contracts defilement by passing through mud or other dirty substances. You may say that principle produces all things, or that energy produces all things, but if you should say that the principle produces the energy you would be wrong. For the energy is only that of the principle, and the two are co-eternal, co-extensive, conjoint, yet distinct."

In a similar strain we find him speaking in language, which is strangely theological, of the so-called "positive" and "negative" principles in the Universe (*yō-in*).

"It is wrong to say that there are two principles in the world, or two energies: for there is but one *ri* and one *ki*, one energy and one principle. When energy goes forth we call it positive (*yō*), when it comes back, we call it negative, (*in*), but whether it go forth or come back it is but one energy. All the heavenly bodies, the four seasons, the gods, spirits (genii) etc., are produced by the one *ki* energizing in these two opposite ways.

Shushi's view would seem to have been much nearer to the Christian conception than that of Kaibara; for Shushi postulates a basal Finity lacking the element of personality, in which *Taikyoku* the Infinite,—immeasurable and incomprehensible,—corresponds to the Person of the Father, *Ri*—"principle,"

λόγος,—to the Son, and *ki*,—Spirit, πνεῦμα, "energy," to—that which Christian Theology knows as the Holy Spirit of God. And yet Ekiken can also speak of the Infinite, as witness the following quotations:

"When we go back to the very beginnings of the Universe we come to a time when the two opposing operations, the positive and the negative, were not yet manifest, but there was a chaos which was the seat of all truth. At that remote period there was as yet no sign of the separate operations, such as we find at a later time. This chaos we call Infinity (*taikyoku*)."

Again,

"Before the manifestation of the two operations, we have Infinity, and the manifestion of the positive and negative workings is simply the effect of Infinity in action. What was Infinity (*taikyoku*, chaos) before the separation is called the Positive and Negative at a later period. Infinity and the *In-yo* are therefore one and the Same Thing."

We have seen above that Kaibara practically identified Ri and Ki with Taikyoku, thus teaching a pure Monism. Against this position we may quote from Shushi with Dr. Inouye.

"Taikyoku," he says, "is the principle of the Universe," And again, "Prior to the coming into being of the Cosmos we find Infinity, (*taikyoku*). From *taikyoku* the world has been produced, and without it the World could not have come into existence. Out of *taikyoku* has sprung "energy," the operation by which all things were made that have been made. It is impossible to read these cosmogonical speculations without having conjured up to the mind's eye an allegorized interpretation of the story of the Creation in Genesis.

c. Kaibara on Natural Religion.

Kaibara's views on ethics depend on his conception of the Way of Heaven as taught by Confucius, and it has been claimed for him by some of his admirers that his conception of love as derived

from the Way of Heaven is superior to the description of the same virtue given by St. Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

"Though a man's life comes to him from his parents, it is nevertheless primarily owing to the principle of life which is the Law of Heaven and Earth. All men, therefore, are the offspring of Heaven and Earth, and these are the true parents of us all. Our earthly parents give us care and education, and the mercy of the Earthly Sovereign serves to protect us, but the food we eat, the clothing we wear, and all the other necessaries of our daily life, are gifts bestowed upon us by Heaven and Earth. Thus, the very origin of our life is derived from Heaven and Earth, and our life is supported by the same throughout. Our first duty is therefore towards Heaven and Earth.

The way in which we can shew this duty is the practice of love. As Heaven and Earth love all things, whether endowed with love or not, so should our love be all-embracing. There are many departments, so to speak, of this all-embracing love. When you love your parents, it is called filial piety, when you love your Sovereign, it is loyalty or patriotism—in fine, all the virtues which man can exhibit in his life are but so many manifestations of the one great root-principle known as love. All things, animate or inanimate, are proofs of the love of Heaven and Earth; for they exist only by virtue of that love. Wilfully or needlessly to break or injure anything is to break the law of love. Only, be it observed, that although it is our duty to love all things, there is a certain order to be observed in doing so. Love for parents should come first, then love for men according to their degrees of proximity, and, lastly, love for animals and inanimate objects."

Commenting on this passage, Dr. Inouye points out that love for animals, plants, etc. is a duty not much insisted upon as a rule in ordinary Confucian philosophy. It is true that there are some passages which look that way, but Ekiken was

evidently influenced by the Buddhism in the midst of which he lived, when he made so plain a statement on the subject.*

d. Kaibara on Man's place in Nature.

"Of all things produced by Heaven and Earth, man is the most noble, seeing that he alone possesses the five cardinal virtues (love, justice, the sense of propriety, wisdom and fidelity) which have been inspired into him by the Spirit of Heaven and Earth. The Shokyō speak of man as being the soul of all things (*bambutsu no rei*). Man's soul is the image of the Soul of Heaven and Earth, and is therefore spiritual. That is why man alone can distinguish the five colours, the five sounds, the five odours, and the five tastes, can read books and learn the ways of the ancient sages, and can apprehend the reasons and principles of the objects he sees around him. Whatever exists in the Universe, Man is in a position to discover its reason and nature; because he is himself the Soul of all things."

e. Kaibara on the parallel advance of practice and Knowledge, etc.

Ō Yōmei had maintained the identity of Knowledge and practice. Kaibara traversed that position and maintained that the two though parallel, were not identical. To know is the means which enables a man to act and no action can be undertaken without some knowledge. Every increase in knowledge confers a similarly increased power of action, and every widening of the sphere of action means an enlarging of the sphere of knowledge. Perfect knowledge cannot be attained until action has been perfected. Thus the two travel in parallels, each helping and sustaining the other. In this point Kaibara

* For instance, in the *Shokyō* or Royal books, prior to Confucius, we find the injunction "not to injure Heavenly things (i.e. *ten-butsu*, "natural objects." And Confucius in one passage tells us that "to cut a tree or to kill an animal at an unseasonable time is contrary to the practice of filial piety." There is likewise a sentence in Mencius which runs thus, "Virtuous men see animals alive and feel sorry to see them die: they hear their voices, and feel sorry to eat their flesh. As a rule, therefore, they prefer to live as far from the kitchen as possible." But kindness to animals and plants enters hardly at all into subsequent Confucianist thought.

differs from Shushi who maintains that knowledge comes first and is completed first, and that action is always posterior.

f. The Indwelling Deity.

Kaibara again recognizes the indwelling of the Deity in the human soul, and argues that when a man deceives himself he is deceiving the spirit that dwells in him. But he does not recognize, as do Shushi and St. Paul, the existence of two indwelling natures, warring against one another in the soul. Man's nature, he affirms, is but one, though it is capable of acting in opposite and contrary ways. In its normal condition (*honzen*) it is good, and does the thing which is right, but it is at times warped or depraved by evil passions and lusts (*kishitsu*), and then acts contrary to itself in a depraved or lustful manner. But the Nature of man is, to Kaibara, not two but one, and the conflict in the soul must not be taken as denoting the existence of a two-fold nature.

g. Kaibara's Views on Politics, Social Institutions etc.

Kaibara lived in an age when Confucianism was triumphant. With the aid of Buddhism it had driven out the foreign element of religion, the Christian, and had after that succeeded in reducing its ally to a very insignificant place in the body politic, so that it ruled practically alone. Kaibara's independent mind saw that the wholesale adoption of Chinese institutions was bad for Japan, and he did not hesitate to speak his opinions. "The moral code," he says, "must be one and the same everywhere and at all times. But laws and institutions which are only means to the end of morality, may vary with country or age. To insist that Japan should order her institutions entirely after Chinese models is like insisting that a man should wear nothing but a linen coat in the midst of winter."

To give emphasis to the views enunciated in the above quotation, he published a book on the "Seven Beauties of Japan," in which he describes the excellencies of the Japanese character and shows how little Japan stands in need of learning anything of this kind from other nations. Let but a succession

of true sages arise in her midst and, Japan,—the one nation with an unbroken dynasty,—might be led on to a golden age of virtue and happiness. Kaibara was thus openly in sympathy with the loyalist scholars, Motoori, Hirata, Mabuchi and others, who laboured so manfully for the restoration of Imperial Rule.

Kaibara's Maxims. Kaibara has left behind him a great many very noble maxims, of which I cull the following from Professor Inouye's book.

1.—If a man, having been born, never learns, he might as well never have been born. If he learns without understanding, he might as well never have learned. If he understands but does not practise, he might as well not understand. A man, therefore, should learn, and he that learns should learn the Way, and he that knows the Way should practise it. There have been many clever and good people in the world, but not many that have known the Way. It is very important that a man should learn and meditate upon what the Way is.

2.—It is a great privilege to have been born as a man, and they that have that privilege should not idle away their time. Human life is the most precious of all lives, and no man gets a second life to live. Though a man live long or forever, his life will not profit him if he does not know the Way. Therefore, to learn the Way is the most important duty of man.

3.—Man's life cannot exceed one hundred years. What a pity it were to waste those years in idle prodigality!

4.—A man should always be diligent. Youth is the best time to learn, for in youth memory is active. By the time he reaches maturity his parents will need his support, and then will come his time for action. When he comes to be an old man, he will cease from labour and spend his declining years in happy meditation.

5.—All things living die once. If a man have left behind him no memorial of himself, he will fade from the world like a brute beast. A wise and virtuouss man leaves his virtues behind him as a memorial for ages to come; and herein lies the differ-

ence between the sage and the other whose life has been that of an inferior animal.

6.—A virtuous man is prudent and discreet under ordinary circumstances, but vigorous and active in times of emergency. Such critical moments are the real tests of a man's greatness, for if he fail in them he loses all the merit that he had gained by his conduct in ordinary times.

7.—There is an old saying that tells us that a man's real merit is to be tested as the time approaches for him to die. The real strength of virtue is shown when a man keeps his righteousness in his old age. If he be unjust then we may conclude that all his previous virtue has been a real sham. Old age is the real test of virtue.

8.—When a comon man becomes wealthy he is apt to forget the lessons of poverty. We should be frugal in the midst of wealth, nor allow our riches to make us oblivious of the friends of our humbler days, and always should we cultivate mercy. An old man is apt to forget his parents, and the man that has recovered from a severe sickness will cast aside the temperance that led to his recovery. Both are wrong. The true way to practise self-discipline or culture is to walk always in the first steps (i.e. the virtuous efforts of our earlier days before we had attained).

9.—A Sage and a Traitor leave behind them reputations which are totally dissimilar. A man should count the future as forming a part of his own life; for our life casts its shadow upon posterity, which is able to form a far more correct estimate of our worth than can be formed by our contemporaries.

10.—If success come to a just man it will not affect his justice, It is wrong, however, to accept success at the sacrifice of justice. Let justice prevail, and all success that comes will be good. We should share the profit that accrues to us with others. It has been said that Confucius rarely spoke about profit; but it cannot be said that he never spoke of it at all.

11.—In a crisis have no fear, and never prefer self to

justice, and never allow ourselves to fail in the courage to do right. It is at critical moments and opportunities of doing justice that man is tested; for these show whether he be virtuous or not.

12.—To be even-tempered and gentle-minded is the true way to advance virtue.

13.—The knowledge acquired by a virtuous man is many-sided: he is like a man on a mountain-top with a broad outlook in all directions. The mean man, on the contrary, is one-sided in his knowledge. He is like the man who has his eye to a tube and can see in one direction only.

14.—A man's true nature is shown by his likes and his dislikes.

15.—The secret of doing good effectively is to make a habit of doing it. He who succeeds in doing good by force of habit does it naturally: it is by the habit of doing wrong that the man acquires his bad character.

This practically concludes Dr. Inouye's appreciation of Kaibara Ekiken, and with him ends the long chapter which he devotes to the consideration of the two great masters of Shushi philosophy, Nakamura and Kaibara, who broke off from the orthodox traditions of the Fujiwara succession and produced systems which, while loyally Shushi-istic, still embraced much that was new and original, and much also that was taken from other systems. We may see in these two thinkers not only the influence of Buddhism, but even traces of the Christian thought which had been formally expelled, but had yet contrived to leave its sting behind it. We now now once more hark back to the time of Fujiwara, and proceed to consider another branch of the Shushi School, the so-called "Southern School," which was originated in Tosa by one of Fujiwara's contemporaries, Tani Jichū.

CHAPTER III.

The Tosa Succession
Tani
Jichū
1598-1280.

Like Fujiwara Shōkwa, with whom however he seems to have had no connection, Tani Jichū began life as a Buddhist priest, and was in his early days a disciple of a Shinshu monk of the name of Tenshitsu. Buddhism does not seem to have had a good effect on him, and the picture we get of him in his youth and early manhood is far from being an attractive one. He had none of that loving gentleness which constitutes the great charm of Kaibara Ekiken. Haughty, arrogant, conceited, he would contradict his teacher in class, and refuse to pay even trivial acts of courtesy to gentlemen whom he met in his daily life. Japanese history tells us of many such men.

After a somewhat stormy period of monastic life, during which his uncompromising incivilities more than once brought him into trouble, not only with the priests within, but also with the samurai and laity without the Temple, he came across the writings of Shushi together with some notes by Minami-mura Baiken, a friend of his teacher's, and the discovery was to him all that the discovery of the Bible in the library of the Augustinian monastery was to Luther. From that moment he shook the dust of Buddhism off his feet, established himself as a Confucianist teacher at Kōchi in Tosa, and took to the practice of medicine as a means of gaining a livelihood. He did not claim to be an original teacher, but was content to reproduce the whole system of the master whom he had elected to follow, and that very strength of spirit which had made him restless and turbulent during the days that he professed belief in a Buddhism which claimed but one half of his heart, now made him a faithful and resolute follower of the Teacher who had given him the highest form of truth with which he had yet become acquainted.

Followers of Jichū. Ogura Sansei 1604-54. Nonaka Kenzan 1605-63.

Jichū's teachings were of a practical nature: he had little in common with the gentlemen who, like Ando Seian and others, spent the whole of their days at their study tables and indulged in theories without practical exposition in life. He taught the need of active interest in the affairs of Society, and this practical side of his work brought him many disciples, whose teachings were destined in later years to have much influence on the political and social life of the country at large.

Ogura Sansei was the earliest and eldest of his disciples, to be followed very shortly by Nonaka Kenzan, a man with a spirit as enterprising and daring as that of Sansei was prudent and gentle. The pair of friends both took service under the Lord of Tosa, and were both actively engaged in the Government of the Tosa clan. Like their teacher, they contented themselves with simply and faithfully reproducing the teachings of Shushi, and it is rather as practical statesmen than as contributors to human thought that they deserve to be remembered. The island of Shikoku is a land of mountains and rocks, in which agriculture needs much aid from human ingenuity in order to be successful, and the years during which these two friends participated in the administration of the clan were rendered noteworthy by the many useful public works of drainage, irrigation, and canalization, that were inaugurated. These reforms were not carried out without considerable opposition from various quarters, but opposition was always successfully surmounted so long as Sansei lived to modify the *fortiter in re* of Kenzan's methods by his own *suaviter in modo.* But after Sansei's early death in 1654. Kenzan became more and more unpopular both with his lord and with his lord's subjects, and at last in 1663 he died by suicide,—it being still a moot point whether his death was owing to his own despondency or to a command from his lord.

The three whose names I have placed in the caption

Nagasawa Senken 1621-1676. Tani Issai 1625-1696. Soda Rinan 1639-1674.

to this paragraph carried the doctrines of the Tosa School beyond the limits of the remote province in which the School originated. Senken and Issai (the latter a son of Tani Jichū) both established themselves, first in Kyōto and afterwards in Yedo, where their many virtues procured for them many disciples. Rinan migrated from Tosa to the province of Tamba, where he entered the service of the Daimyo (Kameyama). He had all the passionate love of boldly speaking which characterized the Tosa school, and on the death of his patron his enemies contrived to have him cast into prison, where he was at length beheaded after a captivity of four years. The Confucianists of Japan have certainly had their martyrs in days of yore. Rinan set no store by learning or knowledge which did not eventuate in action, nor did he care for half measures or timidity in action. A favourite simile of his was the comparison of learning with swimming. We choose a shallow spot, he would say, when we learn to swim, but the value of swinming is that it enables us to strike out boldly into deep water. So we learn wisdom in the shallow places of book lore, but the value of knowledge lies in the fact that it enables us to plunge beyoud our depths into the serious concerns of human life.

Otakasaka Shizan 1660-1713.

The last in the direct succession of the Tosa or Southern School is Ōtakasaka Shizan, a disciple of Tani Issai, whose chief merit as a thinker of the Shushi School seems to have been that in his book *Kyōshōshi* ("The Tall Pine Tree") he systematized the teachings of his predecessors. He was likewise a man much versed in public affairs, for he served under three daimyos, always with integrity, but rarely with acceptance or applause. "Nine times his enemies forced him to resign, on five occasions he was reduced to the utmost extremities of poverty, but his calm resolution never forsook him, and he always came triumphantly out of his difficulties."

The following may be taken as an epitome of his views.

The Way is open to all men,—it is a highway and not a by-path, and is the exclusive possession of no private individual or body of thinkers. It is the Way of Heaven, co eternal and co-extensive with the Universe, and is intended for man to walk in. It is suited for the Mind of Man, and the Mind of Man, if left free to follow its own natural bent, is capable of walking along it without error. But the Mind of Man is not free, for man has fallen from his first estate, and what remains for him now to do is, by careful self-culture and discipline, to get back to the position which he was first intended to occupy, —the position of a Sage. The process of return to original purity may be compared to the burnishing of a tarnished mirror or the purification of muddy water. Providence (*ten-mei*) and human nature are one and the same thing, though known by various names. We call it "Love," and then it is the highest virtue of man: we give it the name of *taikyoku* ("the Infinite,") and it is the Way of Heaven. It is variously known as Providence (*mei*), Heaven (*Ten*), God (*Kami*), the Lord of Heaven (*Shōtei* or *Tenshu*), but all these names only denote that mysterious Source of nature, and especially human nature, which is essentially and unalterably good. The task before man is the task of returning to his pristine beauty and virtue, and that can only be done by walking along the Way. The Way is sometimes spoken of as the "Golden Mean," but its true and best designation is "Charity" or "Love," and the Way of Love is as wide as the Universe itself. There is no need to learn that way from books, nor yet to import it from foreign countries or to turn to teachers of another race, It is naturally inherent in the Human Mind, and all that is needed is to set the Mind free from all trammels of Ignorance, Error, and Lust. It will then return spontaneously to its original condition and be a perfect guide to man.

We have spoken of Shizan as the last in the succession in the Tosa School. Yamazaki Anzai was also in the beginn-

Yamazaki Anzai 1618-1682. ing of his Confucianist career a follower of Tani Jichū, but he cannot be truly counted as among the followers of the Tosa School, because he added certain elements to the Shushi doctrines which changed the whole character of the teaching given.

He is first presented to us as a mischievous boy in Kyōto, who used to tie strings by night across the Gojō Bridge and delight in the overthrow of innocent passengers. He was sent to Hiyei-zan as an acolyte in the hope that religion might produce reform. He proved himself a quick and intelligent pupil, but shocked his superiors by bursting out laughing in the midst of reading the Sutras. "That man Shaka." he said," talked such nonsense!" Disciplined for his levity, he took his revenge by setting fire to his teacher's mosquito-net, and when threatened with expulsion for this prank, he told his teachers that if they dared to expel him, he would set fire to the Temple. The Faculty evidently considered him capable of carrying out the threat, for no expulsion took place. Students in Japan often have a way that is peculiarly their own.

But, though not expelled, an arrangement was made, through a member of the Tosa Daimyo's family, for the young rebel to be transferred to a Temple at Tosa. He cannot have gone to his new home with any respect for the Buddhist teachers who had shown so little appreciation of the needs of his case,—a little stick judiciously applied to a soft part of his body,—and he did not remain long with them. He fell in with Jichū's pupils, Sansei and Kanzan, already mentioned and was by them persuaded to renounce Buddhism and throw in his lot with the Shushi Brotherhood.

As in Jichū's case, Anzai found peace and rest in Confucianism, which inspired him with respect, and the sole trace of his early naughtinesses was a certain loftines of demeanout which enabled him to put people sometimes back to their proper places for the good of their own souls. Thus, when he was in Yedo, in extreme poverty, (for the Confucianist often

had to renounce all worldly ambitions for the Truth's sake), a wealthy and purse-proud daimyo once sent and invited him to come and lecture before him. But Anzai refused. "It is not for the Teacher to go to the disciple," said he. And the Daimyo was fain to come humbly and knock at the philosopher's door. He steadily refused to take service under any lord, and it is said that the Daimyo of Aizu (Hoshina Masayuki) treated him with great reverence.

"What are your chief pleasures?" he once asked him.

"I have three" replied the philosopher "First, the pleasure I take in having been born a man; and secondly, the pleasure that comes of living in a peaceful age."

"And the third?"

"My third pleasure is the pleasure of poverty, with its consequent immunity from flattery and deceit."

Anzai remained faithful to his vow of poverty, and abstaining from direct interference in political life, devoted himself entirely to the work of a pedagogue, lecturing with much fervour and visible emotion, and carrying immense weight with his hearers on account of the singleness of purpose with which he worked.

Anzai's Patriotism. It says volumes for the character of Shushi's teachings and the personality of his followers that they were able to tame Anzai's vigorous spirit and make him willing to sacrifice everything, even his will, to the new doctrine which he had embraced. He accepted Shushi, as a Catholic does the Christian Faith, implicitly, and, whilst caring but little for mere verbal exegesis, found all his pleasure in expounding the doctrines of his master. But his loyalty to Shushi never led him to forget that he was a Japanese. "What would you do," asked a friend, "if there were a war with China, and Confucius, Mencius, and Shushi were commanders of the Chinese forces? Would you fight against your Teachers?"

"I should," was the reply. "I should fight and take them prisoners, and then they would be indeed mine."

Anzai embraces Shintoism.

Anzai's mind seems to have been a deeply religious one. He experienced in himself that pressing need which has been felt by many thoughtful minds, of resting upon a religious faith felt and approved. In another age, he might have turned to Christianity, but that, in his age and in Japan, was next to impossible. Confucius and Shushi failed to satisly those cravings which their own teachings had called into existence. He had turned from Buddhism in his early days, and his intense patriotism now pointed him to a loyalistic form of faith—the native Shinto. He became, therefore, the Founder of a new sect of Shinto, to which in his later years he devoted much attention. His Shinto was not, however, like that of his contemporaries, Moto-ori and his school, based upon the legends of the Kojiki: it was rather an eclectic system, which took the best in Shinto and strove to give it expression by means of a stately and dignified ritual.

God, he said, is the Mind of the Universe, and Man, whose mind is the dwelling place of God, is the head and summit of Creation, an embodiment, as it were, of God. Between the Impersonal Mind and its embodiment in Man, he placed many spirits, some good, some bad, who were either the allies or the friends of the Divine Mind, absolute or embodied. By keeping oneself calm and free from disturbing thoughts and lusts, the evil spirits could be kept away, and the good spirits called in to assistance—and as an aid to this salvation he laid great stress on prayer with an honest heart.

The Sun and Moon, whose light is universal, he took as the symbols of his purified Shinto, which was mainly a worship of Nature, and the Way along which man should walk in order to please God was that which was from the beginning, and man, born with an innate desire after holiness, naturally tended to walk along that way except when hindered by disturbing influences. The Way had always been known in Japan, where it needed neither foreign nor Japanese books (neither Sutras nor Kojiki) to illustrate or enforce it, it was suited

for high and low alike, and all that walk by its precepts would attain to perfection.

Anzai's devotion to Shintoism has been looked upon as a sign of intellectual weakness, and it is certain that his insistence on religion and religious practices caused him the loss of many disciples during his life-time. To those who remained faithful he seems to have imparted an esoteric teaching as well as the more open doctrines which he gave to all. This may be inferred from that Dr. Inouye says about his successors, Asami Keisai, Satō Naokata, Miyake Shōsai, and Tamaki Isai, of whom we are told that they had several points in common, viz. (i) an implicit adherence to their Master's theories, which prevented them from encouraging new developments of doctrine, (ii) an insistence on the paramount importance of practical life and the consequent discouragement of mere literary speculation, and (iii) the use of secret books, communicated only to believers, which contained the main points of their master's teaching.

Influence of Christianity? Is it possible that in these later Confucianist teachers, and especially in the religious system we have just been describing, there are traces of the Christianity which the policy of the Tokugawas had caused the nation to reject?

When the Catholic Missionaries were at work in Japan they membered their converts by the tens of thousands. After a few years of sharp persecution Christianity had disappeared from the surface of Japanese life, and none was found bold enough openly to confess his belief. Yet we know that in Amakusa and Goto thousands of ignorant fishermen retained the Catholic faith as a secret tradition and that even in Yedo believers remained. Why should not the same process have been repeated among *literati* and *savants* as well as among the fishermen and peasants. We can hardly suppose that the knowledge of Christian doctrines disappeared when the professors of Christianity gave up the open confession of their belief. The seed must have

remained in many minds, and when in process of time, Confucianists and Shinto believers, who had once been united with Buddhists against the foreign intruders, found themselves in a position of antagonism to that religion, they would find in the Christian armoury many weapons of offence and defence which they could use with striking effect against the dominant Buddhists. They would have to use caution in so doing: it would have been dangerous to speak of Christ or to mention the Cross, but there are other doctrines in Christianity besides its central facts, and these might be used without acknowledging the obligation. Both Kaibara and Anzai (to mention but two) show traces of what may be Christian influences, and the traditions of Anzai's School point to the need there was for secrecy.

Anzai and the Restoration. Dr. Inouye points to Anzai and his followers as having been very largely instrumental in originating the movement which afterwards led to the Restoration of Imperial Power.

Undoubtedly Anzai's appeal to religion, and to loyalty through religion, must have touched the hearts of many to whom Motoori's and Mabuchi's commentaries on the Kojiki would have appealed in vain. Mere philosophy never goes either as far or as deep as a religious creed can. It is quite in accordance with this that we find Anzai's School producing the first "loyalists." Asami Keisai's "Seiken Igen" was very widely read, and had great influence in inspiring scholars with loyalistic tendencies and ideas.

Anzai's influence was felt deeply in Mito, and the Mito School was one of the active centres of the loyalistic movement in the succeeding century. It was also felt among the Court dignitaries at Kyōto. Many of the leaders of the years just before Meiji were followers of Anzai. His prophet at the Court was Takenouchi Shikibu, who counted Higashikuze, Iwakura, and other distinguished personages among his disciples.

Asami Keisai, the strictest of all Anzai's disciples was born

Successors of Anzai. 1. Asami Keisai. 1652-1711.

in Omi and spent all his time in Kyōto. His father, intending him to be a warrior brought him up to poverty: the son embraced poverty, but not the warrior's life, and became a Confucianist Scholar, refusing in spite of his poverty to call any man his master by taking service under him. He was an ardent student, Puritanic in sternness: and excommunicated several of his friends, notably Miyake Kwanzan and Sato Naotaka, for the reason that they, claiming to be Confucianists, had taken service under daimyōs. He found it extremely difficult to accept all Anzai's doctrines, especially the doctrine of "reverence internal, righteousness external" which was the basis of the latter's religionism, and felt so strongly on the subject that he refused to attend his Master's funeral. However, he repented later on and became a thorough-going and convinced disciple.

The "Seigen Igen." to which allusion has already been made, was the most widely read of all his books, and marks an epoch in the development of loyalist principles. His system, as far as it can be said to differ from that of Anzai, may be summarized as follows:—What is known as "learning" may be defined as being the art of governing oneself and others, and may be acquired and improved by the practice of reverence, the acquirement of knowledge, and action in accordance with reverence and knowledge. Action without Knowledge is blind, without reverence (or the 'presence of heart'—*Kokoro no sonzuru koto*) neither Knowledge nor action can be real. Knowledge consists of filial piety and the other principles of humanity and must be studied with reverence, and put into practice with diligence. These principles are innate in man, who has the law of Heaven written in his heart, and are the common road of humanity by which all men must walk.

Keizai's doctrine of reverence and righteousness and his recognition of filial piety and loyalty as the bases of all human duty led him to an outspoken condemnation of many things of which the Japan of his day officially approved. Mencius had

justified rebellion against a sovereign as being at times permissible: Keizai was as thorough-going a 'divine right of Kingsman' as any of his English contemporaries. As a consequence, he defended the action of the Forty Seven Rōnin, praised Nankō as the model of heroism, and proclaimed Ashikaga as an arch rebel. It required courage to say such things under the iron rule of the Tokugawas: the popularity of Keizai's book shows that there were many who sat very restlessly under that tyranny.

Disciples of Anzai.
2. Sato Naokata. 1650-1719.

A native of Bingo, Sato Naotaka was 21 years old before he saw Anzai. It was at Kyōto, and a bookseller had just brought in some new books, when the young student presented himself. Anzai took up one of the volumes and handed it to Satō as a test of his reading. Satō was, however, anything but a fluent reader, and Anzai, growing impatient at his many stumbles, snatched the volume out of his hand, and gave it to another of his disciples, who read it glibly and fluently. "There!" said he, "That's how you should read, young man." But Naotaka was a youth of a ready mind: "I have known a young Buddhist priest," he replied, "who could read all the Sutras with ease, and yet did not understand the doctrine. I believe, Sir, it is the same with Confucianism. It is not by extensive reading, but by deep thought that we learn the way."

The answer procured for Naotaka a ready admission into the select circle of Anzai's disciples, and it was said that he, who was as much a Laughing Philosopher as Keizai was a Weeping One, was one of the few disciples who could bring a smile upon the old man's face. He was not however a very loyal disciple of Anzai, from whom he differed at the end on the interpretation of the vexed formula, "Reverence within and Righteousness with out." Like Keizai, he refused to attend the obsequies of Anzai from whom he had become estranged: unlike Keizai, he never repented of his want of devotion to the

principles of his teacher, but claimed to speak with independent authority.

His philosophical teachings present nothing very remarkable, and it is quite probable that his disagreement with Anzai (as also with Keizai) may have sprung from worldly motives. He interpreted "reverence" and "righteousness" in a different way to what they did, and the practical effect was that in the great controversy of the period, the question of the Forty Seven Ronin, he took the Tokugawa side, and condemned the action of these men as unjust. We have seen that he drew on himself the anger of Keizai by taking service under a Daimyo, and thus forfeiting the independence of his mind. He must have further vexed that self confident spirit by many of the views which he propounded. He attacked the system of adoption, and thereby cut at the very root of Japanese family life, and even of Imperialism. He even dared to decry the puppet Emperors at Kyōto, whose claims to an unbroken line of descent from the gods he declared to be against reason and absurd. He would not have ventured to make so bold a statement if he had not been assured of protection, both from the *daimyo* whose servant he had become, and from the Shogunate itself, whose action in the Ronin affair had been so hostile to the Court at Kyōto. The controversy which raged over this incident may be said not to have been closed until His present Majesty, on his way to take possession of His new Capital in the East, alighted at Takanawa to honour the tombs of the faithful band whom half Japan had looked upon for more than a century as victims, in truth, of their faithfulness to the feudal lord, but even more as martyrs in the sacred cause of Japanese Imperialism.

Disciples of Anzai. 3. Miyake Shosai. 1662-1741.

Miyake Shosai is in many respects a very interesting personage. A disciple of Anzai, he became in due course a retainer of the House of Abe, which he served with faithfulness and integrity for a period of ten years. But his faithfulness brought him many

enemies, and on the death of his old lord he was traduced to his successor and cast into prison, where he remained for three years. During his imprisonment he made favour with his gaolers to get a cold bath every morning, and after every meal walked round his narrow cell several hundreds of times. The exercise seemed unnecessary for a man in almost momentary expectation of a summons to execution, and the gaolers asked him sneeringly why he did it. "I do not expect a reprieve, much less a pardon," was the reply, "but I want to be able to walk with a firm step to the place of execution."

In prison he found many ways of passing his time with profit and pleasure. He made friends with sparrows and rats, and, with the aid of a nail, and blood drawn from his own veins, wrote a book which contained many of his philosophic thoughts. The work is still extant, and is known as "Shosai's Bloody Book."

We find in Shosai's idea a kind of Trinity—*taikyoku*, *ri*, and *ki*, which we may perhaps translate as "the Infinite," "the Logos," and "Energy" or "Spirit."

Taikyoku is the primal law of Nature, by virtue of which all things are kept in their proper places, and made to work in order and harmony. It has almost the force of the "predestination" of Calvinism.

Ri or the "Logos" is the instrument with which the decrees of Taikyoku are put into operation *Ri* is therefore the direct shaper of the destinies and fortunes of man. It never changes, but is nevertheless no blind force, being, as its name implies, essentially reasonable.

Ki, "energy," or the "giver of life," changes according to the objects with which it comes into contact. It is always reasonable and orderly, for it proceeds from *ri* and is, as it were, subordinate to it.

With *Taikyoku*, which in Shosai's system corresponds to the neuter impersonal Brahma of the Hindoos, man has not much concern. He is mainly under the direction and

power of *ri*, which is also personified as the Spirit of Nature, manifesting himself in Heaven and earth, and even apparently spoken of as *ten-jin* the God of Heaven, a pure spirit free from all passions and evil. By the sending forth of *ki* man is created and born: when the predestined hour arrives the, *ki* is withdrawn, and man dies. But death is confined to the material parts of man, for when man is born through the operation of *ki*, his body becomes the receptacle or dwelling-place of a soul which is nothing but an emanation of *ri* and in some ways identical with it. Inasmuch, then, as the soul or *ri* in man is identical with the *Ri* of Nature, man's soul is eternal and immortal. It is also capable of omniscience: for omniscience is a part of the attributes of Heaven, and it is only owing to the limitations of material existence and the evils attendant on it that man's soul fails to comprehend and know all the Past and all Futurity.

In speaking of the God of Heaven, to whom, as we have seen, he ascribes a modified personality, he says: "The Heavenly God is spiritual: he is a Great Man, too great to seem to have any plan or design, such as we small persons have. All that man has, He has—only in Infinite Measure." The words seem to be almost an echo of Swedenborg's description of God as the *Magnus Homo*.

The *ri* in man operates as a conscience, and is, under ordinary circumstances, a sufficient guide for human action. But, in opposition to the prevalent teachings of the Ō Yōmei School, he taught that conscience was fallible. It is influenced both in action and receptivity by passions, desires, temper, etc., and is consequently liable to errors in judgment, which may lead to mistakes in action. Neither is the natural intellect with which a man is born a sufficient guide, as Ō Yōmei maintains. Knowledge must grow by gradual steps and painful acquisition, and it is only by a diligent use of all means of instruction that the Great Enlightenment can be obtained which is a perfectly trustworthy guide to human knowledge.

It would seem that Shosai was not entirely ignorant of Western learning, which he may have got from the traditions of the Catholic teachings which were still floating about in the country, or else from the occasional books on philosophic subjects which must from time to time have been smuggled in through Nagasaki. In speaking of Japanese patriotism, he says that it bears to the patriotism of other nations the same relation that the institution of marriage in western countries bears to the same institution in other parts of the world. Japanese Patriotism is specially excellent, and so are western laws of Marriage; but both are exaggerated. It has always required considerable courage for a Japanese to say, in Japan, that Japanese patriotism can be exaggerated. But the courage of their convictions was a thing in which the disciples of Anzai were not, as a rule, lacking.

Disciples of Anzai: 4, Tani Shinzan. 1662-1718.

With Tani Shinzan, an ancestor of the General Tani who figured so conspicuously in the events of the Restoration, the Tosa School returned to Tosa, to which place Tani repaired after having finished his studies under Anzai in Kyoto. His life was uneventful, and his philosophic teachings present no salient points of divergence from those of his teachers. The following extracts will suffice to give an idea of his writings.

"The sense of decorum is the law of mankind: without it man would be a beast."—"Heaven is the place where form ceases. Man's mind communicates with Heaven: hence the proverb 'nothing is clearer than a secret'. (i. e. Nothing is secret to the eyes of Him with whom we have to do)."—"If a man is skilful in the use of his reason (*ri*) he can easily form a judgment on a doubtful case"—"The habit of reverence, and simplicity in action are, the best rules of life"—"You can judge the state of a man's heart by his way of speaking"—"No great mundane disturbance can disturb me, but the smallest evil in myself is enough to throw me off my balance. Nor would the possession of the whole world avail to restore

me so long as that evil remained unamended"—"The mind of man is good by nature, and therefore the slightest evil will disturb it so as irrevocably to destroy its original goodness"—"Your mind should be as the azure sky, your action like treading upon thin ice."—"A look, a word, may suffice to ruin the mind for ever: you should therefore be constantly on your guard."—"In attacking your passions, act on the offensive, as a small army would when confronted by an enemy. To await an attack is to be defeated."—. "If you cannot control your passions the time will come when you will try to deceive Heaven."—"The essential goodness of man's nature is easily proved by the fact that we all feel happy when we have done a good deed, and unhappy when we have done the reverse."—"Not to cultivate virtue is to be uncharitable: not to learn is to be unintellectual: not to do what is just is to be lacking in courage: not to reform oneself is to be wanting in faithfulness."—. "All growth in Nature is the manifestation of *ki* (τὸ ζωοποιοῦν)."—"When a man undertakes to do anything, blindly, without his mind being in it (*kokoro koko ni arazu*), he will forfeit Heaven. And to forfeit Heaven means ruin." (i. e. to act blindly, without understanding the reason of what we do, shows that we have no fear of Heaven.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE SHUSHI SCHOOL IN AND AFTER THE KWANSEI ERA, (1789-1799.)

Temporary Decline of the Shushi School.

The reader will have gathered, from what has been said in preceding chapters, that any thing like a slavish following of Shushi's doctrine never existed among the Shushi philosophers of Japan. However loud might be the protestations of literal faithfulness to the doctrines of the great Chinese expounder of Confucius,

every one of the Japanese philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries practically interpreted him in his own way. No one acquainted with Japanese ways of thought will be surprised at this.

The reader will also have gathered from the account of Tani Shinzan, with whom the last chapter closed, that the school had degenerated from living thought to the enunciation of moral platitudes, which could scarcely be expected to produce a really powerful succession of thinkers, or even to attract the best minds in Japan to the study of the school, or the profession of its principles.

It must also be borne in mind that the period following the Genroku Age (1688-1703) was one of decadence and effeminacy. The reigning Shōguns were men of superstition and bigotry, blind votaries of a degraded Buddhism, and according to puppies and kittens that care which they failed to give to their fellow-men. Thoughtful Japan did not sit quietly under this effeminate rule, and Confucianist Scholars, disgusted with the petty tyrannies of the authorities, turned from the Shushi School, which had always been more or less officially connected with the Tokugawa authorities, to other schools which claimed for themselves a larger measure of intellectual freedom. The consequence was that the Shushi Schools declined in numbers and in influence, whilst opposing systems, such as that of *Ogiu Sōrai* attracted all the best thought and intellect.

"Prohibition of Heresies." 1790.

This state of things was highly displeasing to the Government. Ever since the days when Hayashi Razan (1583-1672) stood behind the Shogun Iyemitsu and directed the educational policy of the Shogunate, the Government in Yedo had treated the Shushi School of Confucianism as the school upon which the official programme of education was based, and the decline of that School was a testimony to Governmental weakness, for it never dawned upon the authorities that the influence of Government

could co-exist with anything but the most rigid uniformity of life and thought. It was therefore resolved to bolster up the Shushi School by a Government Edict in its favour, and thus, in 1790, Hayashi Daigaku no Kami, Minister of Education in Yedo, gave to the world, his celebrated "Prohibition of Heresies."

In this prohibition, the term "heresy" denoted every sort of doctrine, Confucianist or otherwise, which did not square with the doctrines of Shushi as they had been professed by all successive Shoguns since the Keichō era (1596-1614), and all educational authorities in the various provinces and clans were charged with the duty of seeing that these doctrines and none other were professed by teachers and scholars in all schools. The Government would itself see that the decree was carried out in the Shoheikō or Seidō in Yedo, and two Confucianist doctors, Shibano Ritsuzan and Okada Seisuke, were appointed to carry out the necessary reforms in that institution.

It is needless to say that the "Prohibition of Heresies" seemed to the intellect of Japan to savour of theological persecution. It was reactionary, for it did not recognize the developments in the Shushi doctrine which had taken place since the days of Hayashi Razan, but forced upon the nation the Shushi system of the days when Shushi and Buddhism, in temporary alliance, had crushed Christianity, and placed the Tokugawa Dynasty firmly on the sub-throne of the Shogunate. During the century that had elapsed since the final establishment of the Shogunate, nearly every leader of the Shushi School had been a religious rebel who had left Buddhism from a desire for something better. To try therefore to return to the Shushi teachings of the Hayashi Razan days was to ignore if not to condemn the labours of all subsequent Shushi [illegible], of Kyuso, Kaibara, and all the Tosa sages;—the decree [illegible] to conciliate even the Shushi teachers themselves, and [illegible] therefore confidently reckon it to have been one of the [illegible] coffin of the Shogunate.

The Three Kwansei Doctors.

At the time when the Tokugawa Government issued its unfortunate decree, the most prominent Shushi teachers were Shibano Ritsuzan, Okada Seisuke, and Bitō Nishū. We have already made the acquaintance of the first two of these teachers. They were the men selected by the Government to carry out the "Prohibition of Heresies,"—a fact which stamped them as that most worthless class of thinkers, "safe men." Their influence was not great among their contemporaries, nor do we find that any thinkers of note at any time came out from the school of which they were put in charge. The third, Bitō Nishū, 1745-1813, was a man of more weight. He was a native of Iyo, came to Osaka in 1771, and was a pupil of Katayāma Hokkai, a philosopher of the Kogakuha, or "Classical School" of Confucianists, who referred him to the writings of Ogiu Sōrai.

In his later days, Nishū referred to his experiences at that time: "Sorai," he said, "insists on our going back to the ancient philosophy, and so when I first read his books I thought that I was really learning something about the ancient sages. Later, after my arrival in Osaka, I read another of Sōrai's books, *Kwan-en Zui-hitsu*, the contradictions in which made me feel some doubts as to Sōrai's position. I wrote to Katayama Hokkai on the subject, asking him for his advice, and was told that I should find the explanations I wanted if I turned to Mencius. Accordingly, I devoted several months to a careful perusal of Mencius, and at the end came to the conclusion that what Sōrai calls 'ancient' was not ancient at all."

At this juncture he fell in with Rai Shunsui, the famous loyalist writer, who persuaded him to read the works of Shushi as being likely to furnish him with a solution to his doubts. He did so, and was from the first attracted by him; a year or two later the study of Muro Kyūsō's "Sundai Zatsuwa" made him a devoted disciple of the Chinese philosopher. He was thus a Shushi-ite by conversion and conviction and, as such attracted to himself a goodly number of disciples. Shibano

and Okada showed their wisdom when, in later days, they associated him with themselves, as a professor in the Shōheikō College.

Summary of Bitō Nishū's doctrines.

Nishū's doctrines were in every respect those of Shushi, for whom he had the profoundest veneration, considering him as being by far the greatest among the interpreters of Confucius, just as he considered Confucius to be the greatest of earthly sages. Like all Confucianists, therefore, he spoke much of *Ten*, *Ri*, and *Ki*.

"The term *Heaven*," he said, "comprehends a great deal. Its "reason," or *logos* (*Ri*) is also called *Taikyoku*, while its Energy (*ki*) is divided into positive and negative (*in* and *yō*). Its ruler is called the Lord of Heaven (*tei-shū*), its method or dispensation (*fuyō*) is known as Providence (*mei*), and its Ministers are spirits (*kishin*). Analyze it, and its parts can almost be enumerated, but the whole has but one name—Heaven.....In man, Infinity (*taikyoku*) is the Nature, mind (*Ri*) is the Ruler, Providence (*Mei*) the Heart; *Ki*—Energy, positive and negative,—is his life, whilst the Soul is to the individual man what the *Kishin* are to the Universe at large. The five organs of sense and action are the instruments by which Nature, Mind, Heart, Life, Soul, are enabled to manifest themselves in operation.....Cold and heat, wind and rain, are *Ki*, when we ask *why* it is cold or hot, windy or rainy, the answer is *Ri*, and in the operations of nature, which are always reasonable, we can always see the *Ri*. Joy, anger, love, hatred, are *Ki*, when we ask why a man is joyful or angry, full of love or full of hatred, the answer is *Ri*, and when joy, anger, etc, are in accordance with reason we can see the *Ri* in them. This *Ri* is the natural reason which exists in and for everything, every gesture of the hands or legs, for instance, should be according to this natural reason. By studying human conduct we can learn to do everything according to reason."

Again: "the relation 'father and son' is the product of *Ki*,

but 'a father's love' or 'a son's devotion to his parent' are the workings of *Ri*. The same may be said of the relations between sovereign and subject, which are *Ki*, whilst loyalty and clemency are the workings of *Ri*. *Ki* is used for tangible things and things capable of measure or dimension, the workings of *Ri* are of a less formal kind. Matter is *Ki*, its underlying reason is *Ri*. Shushi never says that *Ki* and *Ri* are distinct. The *Ri* is always the *Ri* of the *Ki*."

As the associate of the men who had been especially chosen by the Government to combat the philosophic heresies of the time, it was evidently Nishū's duty to protest most vigorously against all departures from Shushi standards. There are many such protests, not only against the views of men like Ōyōmei, Sōrai and Jinsai, but also against eclectics who were already then busily trying to reconstruct a working system of philosophy suited for times which were then beginning to show symptoms of impending change.

The following rules drawn up for his students will show something of the workings of his mind.

1.—The mind should be devoted to one thing at a time, and never be allowed to waste its strength on the undertaking of several tasks. (Readers of the Life of the late Archbishop Temple will remember how he kept himself free from the distractions of Oxford in the height of the Tractarian controversies by a deliberate and stubborn devotion to the requirements of the Examinations in Schools. The principle here enunciated may account for the peculiar narrowness of intellectual horizon displayed by Japanese students when they devote themselves to one thing only).

2.—Conduct should be regulated by a careful choice between alternative paths, and this choice should be made with impartiality.

3.—Man's behaviour should always be reverent and modest, —never haughty.

4.—Speech should be simple and clear, never hasty, and never untruthful.

5.—Care should be taken to observe right and wrong in all matters.

6.—When first brought into contact with any new plan, project, or action, first ascertain whether it is just or unjust.

7.—Never agree with people merely from politeness when you are not convinced of the truth of what they say.

8.—Use especial caution when you are alone. (i. e. either alone in your opinions, or alone in the sense of being by yourself).

Nishū seems to have had a very modest appreciation of his own achievements. He describes himself in a poem, as a grey-headed student who, having devoted himself all his life to his books, is yet far from having reached to any substantial attainments in knowledge. In the next line he takes another metaphor and speaks of himself as the liquid mud in a marsh, which boils and bubbles, under the heat of the summer sun, and yet remains muddy and confused.

"*Hakuhatsu no shosei giryō nashi:*
Mansō no kōjitsu yōte doro no gotoshi."

Sato Issai. 1772-1850. This well-known philosopher, who, whatever his private opinions may have been, belonged at least officially to the Shushi School, came of an old Confucianist stock. His great grandfather, Hiroyoshi, had been first teacher of philosophy, and afterwards *Karo* under the Daimyo of Iwamura in Mino, and both his son and grandson, the latter being Issai's father, followed in the old man's steps. Issai's father, Nobuyoshi, held the office of Karo for over thirty years, thus gaining a wide experience of statesmanship on a small scale, for the Iwamura clan was not a large one. Nobuyoshi, who married a lady of the Makida family, had two daughters and two sons, Issai being the youngest. The eldest daughter was married to a man named Kosuge Jisuke, who was adopted into

the family of Nobuyoshi, and Kosuge, having no children of his own, adopted Issai as his son. Nobuyoshi was about 45 years of age when Issai was born, and between his real father and his adopted parent, the lad's education was well cared for. He became early a proficient in writing, archery, horsemanship, and fencing, studied Hōjō on military tactics, and Ogasawa on etiquette, so that by his twelfth year he had all the manners of a grown-up man and was fully equipped as a samurai both in body and mind. He became early ambitious to do great things, and fully understood that it was Confucianism that would best help him to climb to the top of the tree.

At nineteen he became a chamberlain at the Daimyo's court, and commenced a great friendship with Hayashi Jussai, the Baron's third son, but adopted into the Hayashi clan. The two young men studied Confucianism together, and imbibed from their teachers, Inouye Shimei and Takami Seiko, many of the heretical opinions of the Ōyōmei or Sorai school. Issai, however, was not entirely led away by his teachers, and his first work, entitled *Kōkyō*, or the Doctrine of Filial Piety, was intended to combat some of the false views of that school. Another intimate friend of his was Sugimoto Chuen, a physician,—a restless spirit who did much to unsettle Issai's mind,—and the two young men got into mischief which resulted in Issai's dismissal from his post as chamberlain, and his retirement from the clan in 1792. He was about to enjoy the freedom of a poor scholar's life.

My feet I wash in the brook," he sang, "my eyes I lift to the hills, for the stream and the mountain alone are calm and pure. I have doffed the cap of the official and thrown my cares to the wind. Henceforth I dream of nought but the seagull's vow and the monkey's promise, and am free to roam and bound by no responsibilities."

His friend Jussai now recommended him to go as a student to Osaka, and here, in the house of Hagama Taigyo, he made the acquaintance of Nakai Chikuzan, a teacher of Shushi

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philosophy, from whom he received his first lessons in the doctrines of which he was later to become so great a teacher. Chikuzan saw the promise of future greatness in Issai, and encouraged him to continued efforts:

"When weary, go to bed; when fallen, raise yourself" was a motto which Chikuzan gave him at this period, and it doubtless served to encourage the young man who had just been forced to retire in disgrace from his clan. In 1794 we find him as a student in Yedo in the school of one Hayashi Kanjun, who, dying shortly after, was succeeded by his friend Jussai, who had been adopted by the Hayashi clan to assume the headship of the school. Issai and Jussai were therefore, henceforth, formally in the relation of pupil and professor, but practically the change made no difference in their old relations, and they continued to be fellow-students of the Chinese wisdom. Issai now devoted his energies to the thorough study of the Confucian Sacred Books, on which he wrote painstaking and luminous essays which brought him much fame, so that he received invitations from many parts of the country to go and lecture. One in particular he accepted,—to Hirado in Kyushu, where he not only lectured with great success, but where he got introductions to Chinese residents in Nagasaki which he was able to use on his homeward journey. It is worthy of notice that the Dutch at Deshima were not the only foreigners with whom the Japanese came into contact. There were many Chinese merchants of repute and education in Nagasaki, and through them Japan was able to glean a great deal of information as to the doings of the outer world.

From Hirado, Issai returned to Yedo, where he acted as superintendent of the boarding-house attached to Hayashi Jussai's school, his position and influence being immensely increased by a friendship which he made with the Lord Abbot of the great Uyeno Temple,—who was always a Prince of the Imperial Blood. Issai became a frequent and welcome guest at

the great Abbey, and was frequently invited to take part in poetical meetings.

His own clan now began to take him back to favour. He was unofficially appointed teacher to the heir of the principality, and when the old daimyo died with whom he had quarrelled in his youth, his successor appointed him to a high position in the local government, a position of honour, but apparently a sinecure, for he continued his lectures with such success that he was ultimately appointed a Professor in the Shohei University and frequently consulted on matters of grave importance. He died in Yedo in 1859, in his 88th year, leaving behind him a great number of pupils, most of whom belong to the Ōyōmei School, though he was himself an official exponent of the Shushi philosophy. "Outwardly *Shū* inwardly *Ō*" was the phrase popularly invented to describe his philosophical position.

Sato Issai System of Teaching.

How true this phrase was, may be seen from the fact that he is constantly in his books criticizing Shushi, and exposing what seem to him to be his erroneous views, at the same time that he held a position of trust as tutor of Hayashi's school, and professor in the Shohei University, where Shushi's was of course the recognized and authorized system of teaching. He was not however altogether alone in the position he assumed. Just as in the 17th century in England, the Franciscan Christopher Davenport, better known as Father Santa Clara, openly maintained the essential oneness of the Anglican and Roman Faiths, and published a commentary on the 39 Articles to demonstrate the correctness of his views, which he held without forsaking the Roman communion, so many of Sato's contemporaries, (we may mention Nekai Tōji, Banzan, Shissai, and others), maintained that there was no contradiction between Ōyōmei and Shushi, but rather essential unity. They were further of the opinion, and in this Sato seems to have also agreed with them, that this reconciliation of two schools was by no means inconsistent with the traditions of Shushi as established in Japan. It was merely

by accident that Shushi became the established creed. Fujiwara Shōkwa happened to take the Shōgun's fancy, and so his creed was adopted, for reasons of personal affection more than anything else. But the choice of the Shushi system was not intended to exclude all other methods of thought, for Shōkwa's immediate disciple, Hayashi Razan, mixed Rikuzan's philosophy with Shushi's, and if Hayashi Razan joined Riku with Shu, why should not Sato Issai join Shu with Ō (Shushi and Ōyōmei)? Fujiwara's great merit in Sato's eyes was that he had been tolerant and wide hearted, ready to admit the truth of other systems than his own, and for this reason he built a temple in honour of Fujiwara Shōkwa and adorned it with an inscription which summarily described the character of Shōkwa given above. Dr. Inouye also quotes another inscription in which Sato Issai speaks of Fujiwara Shōkwa as the true father of wisdom in Japan, and there are many passages in his books in which he speaks of the impossibility of accepting *en bloc* the views of any individual thinker.

It is undoubtedly true that both Fujiwara Shōkwa and Razan took thoughts from Rikuzan Ōyōmei and other teachers as well as from Shushi. But with them, Shushi always comes first, and it is in Shushi that their philosophy centres. Sato Issai, however, openly averred his preference for Ōyōmei over Shushi, and it was only for considerations of worldly interest that he did not proclaim himself to be a thorough-going follower of Ōyōmei's system, Like the Bishop of Gloucester in the reign of Charles I, of whom it was said that he required £ 1500 a year to prevent him from declaring his conversion to Roman Catholicism, so Sato was a Shushi philosopher simply because he was at the head of a Shushi school. He lacked the courage of his opinions, and it was not until after his death that his real opinions were found expressed in unequivocal language. Hence, lacking moral courage, he forfeited much of that respect and influence which belong to the philosophical or religious teacher who has the courage of his convictions. Yet, in spite of all, he

was beloved and reverenced. He was born in the "year of the Dragon," as Ōyōmei had been 300 years before. A conjunction of five stars had been observed in the Heavens in China, in 1472, when Ōyōmei was born: the same conjunction was seen in Japan, in 1772, when Sato Issai first saw the light, and people who took notice of these things told one another that the Heavens had heralded the birth of a Great Teacher of Truth.

Special Points of Sato's Teaching 1. Ri and Ki.

Ri and *Ki* Sato holds with Ōyōmei to be identical: for they cannot exist except in conjunction with each other. The order that keeps things in their places is *Ri*, while the constant motion which pervades the Universe is *Ki*. *Ri* shows that there is sovereignty: *Ki*, that there is energy.

2. Fatalism.

Everything in the world is fore-ordained by a Fate which nothing can change, and a man is a fool that tries to struggle against his destiny. There is no such thing as free-will and consequently no incentive to improvement. When such doctrines were taught from professorial chairs of Shushi schools, we can understand the anxiety of the Tokugawa Government, and their ardent desire to purify the teaching of philosophy.

3. Body and Soul.

The body is entirely composed of the elements of earth: soul is the indwelling of Heaven in the human heart. Man is therefore truly a microcosm, for he is a combination, in an abridged form of, "Heaven and Earth."

4. Good and Evil.

The soul of man is all good, for it is the direct gift of Heaven to him. Evil is in the earth, but not essentially: it only arises from the want of good. Thus poverty is the want of wealth: and, being a want, it causes the man to steal. This evil lies entirely in the organs of sense, which are the soul's means of communication with the world of matter. Destroy them, and you destroy evil.

5. Life and Death. Life and Death stand to one another in the relation of day and night, and there is no reason to fear either death or night. The sun goes out of our world, and night comes: Heaven goes out of its dwelling-room in man, and death ensues. Neither is to be dreaded. "If you want to know what takes place after death, find out first what took place before birth." We do not look back to the one with horror, neither need we look forward to the other with dread.

Sato Issai's writings are said to resemble Schopenhauer in many points. They are also full of judicious sentiments and well-conceived phrases, many of which Dr. Inouye quotes, not in the volume on Shushi philosophy which forms the basis of this paper, but in his previous volume on the Ōyōmei heresy. It is to that school that Sato properly belongs.

Azaka Gonzai. 1785-1860. With Azaka Gonzai even more than with Satō Issai we come into the region of the modern ages. We are, that is, conscious of being among the men who were actually the makers of the Revolution of Thought which produced the Restoration of Meiji. A native of the north, Gonzai received his early education at the school kept up by the Lords of Nihon-matsu for the benefit of their retainers, and at sixteen was adopted into the family of a rich farmer named Imaizumi, to marry the daughter of the house, for whom, however, he conceived so intense a dislike that within a year he ran away from home, and with a very few sen in his pocket arrived in Yeddo. Here a priest of the Nichiren sect, Nichimyō by name, took compassion on his forlorn state, and procured for him a situation as house-servant in the family of Satō Issai whom we discussed in the last paragraph. He made the very best of the opportunities thus thrown in his way, became an ardent student, a devout adherent of the Shushi school, and in course of time a recognized teacher of ethical science, with a chair in the Shōheikō college.

An unbounded admirer of Shushi, whom he looked up to,

as the greatest Confucianist since Confucius, he was much broader in his sympathies than the "Prohibition of Heresies" on the basis of which the Shōheikō College had been reconstructed.

"The Way," he said, "is open to all men, and so is the Great Learning. Neither Confucius nor Mencius either claimed or established a monopoly of it for themselves. Scholars should therefore take all that is good from all men everywhere,—not only from orthodox writers like Tei and Shū, but even from men like Riku Shōzan or Ōyōmei, whose good points should freely be accepted, as should also the teachings of Rō and Sō, and even of Shaka himself, when they commend themselves to the judgment. Even an unlearned man, a woman, or a child, may at times speak wisdom. Hence the true scholar will always keep his mind open for the reception of wisdom, from whatever quarter it may come. Men who set one school of philosophy against another, for polemical purposes, seem to forget that Shushi himself invited Shōzan to his lecture-hall, and gave him permission to speak freely to his disciples, whilst Shōzan rebuked his own disciples for presuming to criticize Shushi. A skilful worker in metal can make copper as beautiful as gold, while the clumsy artificer only succeeds in making gold look like copper. It depends on the skill of the worker in mind whether his disciples turn out to be pure gold or base copper."

Two words—*Chū*, "loyalty," and *Shin*, "faithfulness"—often found in Confucius, became to Gonzai the pivots of his teaching.

"No ancient sage," he said, "has ever been greater than Confucius, and none of his works is more precious than the Analects (*Rongo*) in which the words *chū* and *shin* (which, together, may be translated as 'fidelity') are constantly occurring. By *chūshin* we understand 'a pure heart,' 'unmixed fidelity,' and it is the duty of man to do everything with *chūshin*, to the best of his ability, and with all his might. This is the true method of moral culture."

In another passage we find him speaking as follows of the developments of Confucianism during the twenty centuries that have elapsed since the days of the Great Sage :—

"To say nothing of the three ancient dynasties (i. e. those before the age of Confucius), we find that neither during the two dynasties of the *Han*, nor yet in that of Tong, were there any scholars who deserve to be considered as anything more than interpreters, or rather re-interpreters, of the ancient Sacred Books. They were too timid to depart from the traditional interpretations of their predecessors, and even tried to cover up and make excuses for what they knew to be wrong. There was thus very little of spirit or life in their teachings, many of their opinions were ignoble and mean, and the whole age was one of darkness, far behind the standard set up by the sages. We find the first signs of awakening life in the writings of the Sung Dynasty, in which period the scholars plucked up heart boldly to discuss fundamental doctrines such as cosmogony and the nature of man. Of these scholars Shushi was the greatest, but he has been much misunderstood by subsequent generations of his followers, who have confounded reading with intellectual acquisition (*Kakubutsu.* Cf the phrase 'read, mark, learn, and *inwardly digest*') and have consequently departed far from moral culture. This period of decadence went on for a long time, with a constant deterioration of intelligence and culture, until at the last Ō-yō-mei stood up in protest against it. This philosoper is by some reckoned as an opponent of Shushi's system, but that is not so. It is true that he lays more emphasis than Shushi did upon moral culture, as contrasted with the mere culture of the intellect, but the two philosophers held identical views on the subject of Human Nature, which they both derived from Riku Shōzan. The writers, therefore, who decry Ō-yō-mei as the arch-enemy of mankind, really know nothing of his many excellencies. Again, in the present age, another change has come over Confucianist studies, for scholars turn to the text itself of the ancient

Sages and have devoted themselves to the task of etymological elucidation. These changes of method are like the successive seasons of the year: but the Way of the Sages runs through them all, like the Sun, which shines in Winter and Summer alike. In the great sphere of activity, which belongs to the Lord of Nature, there is one unchangeable law, but many petty and immaterial variations. So in the domain of Confucianism, every system of philosophy that maintains the great principles of Humanity, and is of practical use to the State, will please Confucius."

Here is another specimen of Gonzai's thought. He is writing about the secret of success.

"Success depends on a man's spirit (*Ki*, "energy.") Concentration of spirit (energy) naturally produces successful actions, though the result may not be immediately apparent. In winter all growth seems to be arrested, it is really the period when Nature is concentrating its energies for the bloom of the coming spring. Let us not talk about what we are going to do, for talking will dissipate our energies and endanger our success."

Again, he speaks of the great importance of sincerity.

"There are some things manifestly beyond the reach of mere intellectual power. But sincerity always obtains the protection of the gods, and draws the people to obedience and confidence. It is by sincerity that Sages obtain rule and win a cheerful obedience from the subjects."

In another place, speaking of true manliness, "The vicissitudes of human life," he says, "are as full of change as are the constantly shifting clouds in the sky, but the real self of a well-trained man is always constant and one, neither affected by poverty nor by any other of the adversities of human life. Such a man considers the three-score and ten years of human life to be but a dream that soon passeth away, and trains himself under all changes to submit himself to the will of Heaven."

"Difficulties come," he says in another place, "in ac-

cordance with the laws of Fate. A man who cannot attain to the moral heights of a Confucius or a Gan (the most favoured of the ten personal disciples of Confucius) is apt to consider himself as one of the most unfortunate of men; but let him compare his difficulties with those experienced by the Sages of old, and he will see how little reason he has for complaint or despondency.

Humiliation is the best means of moral culture, and a poor scholar has more chances of humiliation than a rich one. The latter runs the risk of being spoiled by flattery and conceit, but many a poor man has risen through humiliation to the highest places of moral culture."

We will conclude our extracts from Gonzai's writings with a striking passage on music and poetry.

"A certain young Chinese poet," he says, "had a great admiration for an older *confrère*, and one day, thinking to please him, showed him a poem which he had written in imitation of his style. To his disappointment, the older poet gave him no word of commendation, though at a later time, when the young man began to write out of the fulness of his heart, and with no thought of the praise of others, he gained the commendation which he desired. Let no man therefore write poetry to please others, but merely as a means of bringing out his own thoughts. In the same way, Fujimura Kengyō, who was in his day a most successful musician, tells us that we should not play in order to please our audience. Our music should be an offering made before God with the best of our energies."

Motoda Tōya. 1818-1891. The next in the succession of the Shushi hierarchy is Motoda Tōya, a native of Kumamoto, a friend of the famous loyalist Yokoi.* He was

* Yokoi Heishiro, adviser to Matsudaira, lord of Echizen, lost his life by assassination during the early forties in consequence of a daring poem in which, on the one hand he extolled Christianity, as a religion better than any that existed in Japan, while on the other hand he decried the system of primogeniture, declaring that an incapable heir to the throne should be deposed, and his place filled by the adoption of a suitable person, taken, if necessary, even from a humble family.

in 1871 appointed a lecturer before the Emperor, an office which he retained until his death in 1891. He may therefore be considered as a specimen of that combination of Confucianism and Shinto which has been the guiding principle of the men who have transformed Japan in our own days.

It must have been very difficult for him at times to lecture in such a way as to let his Confucianist theories, e. g. on cosmogony, not clash too openly with the accounts of the Creation given in the *Kojiki*, or with other narratives contained in that extraordinary book. Of the extracts given by Dr. Inouye most deal with practical ethics, and some are of considerable value.

"The way of a loyal subject is not to rejoice at promotion, nor yet to be grieved when humiliated; but to serve with a loyal heart whether in abundance or poverty, whether in a higher station or in a lower one."

"In serving his Sovereign a subject should not consider whether the Sovereign is wise or unwise, intelligent or the reverse, but should simply serve with a loyal heart."

"In giving counsel to his Sovereign, the subject should pay more heed to love than to reverence, and should try in that way to win his Master's confidence. He should give his reasons plainly, in accordance with the dictates of love, and not from any consideration of the success or failure of his plans."

"The boldest decisions, the most vigorous actions, the strongest and most abiding of motive powers, will be found to abide in or to spring from the principle of love, and the warmer the love, the better will be its results in action."

"Love alone can move others."

"Love comprehends Heaven and Earth."

"The greater a man's wisdom, the more comprehensive is his mind. The more comprehensive a man's mind, the more complete will be his virtue."

"Loyalty should be independent. Since I have been lecturer to His Majesty I have made it a rule never to ask any

of my friends or acquaintances for advice as to what I should say. I have always made plain statements of what appeared to be necessary truths, but without looking for success. Love has been the motive power of my advice, and I have never considered whether my advice would be taken or not."

"The way of loyalty is for a subject to counsel his Lord with the sincerity of his usual self. If a man should think of worldly pleasures and such things while at home, and of loyalty in the presence of his Emperor, he would be a deceiver. His Lord's business should be constantly in his mind, whether in presence or in absence."

"Reason is open to all, and should be withheld from none. There are, however, some things which should be kept secret: family affairs should not be spoken of at the Court, nor should the secrets of the Court be made known in the family."

"Shushi's maxim was that a man should be honest. It should always be borne in mind that honesty is the natural product of love."

A Collection of Motoda's Lectures delivered at the Court has been published under the title of *Keien Shinko Roku.* Professor Inouye quotes, from a lecture on the first chapter of the Analects, a passage which he characterizes as being not exactly final, but as "a happy scratching of a sore place."

"Learning is man's life-work: life without learning is sheer loss. What do we mean by learning? It is the enlightenment of a man's own nature and the study of a man's duties, both public and private, according to the Great Way of the Golden Mean, which Confucius understood and practised better than any one else, This is the Essence of Learning: but the practice and acquisition of it does not limit us to the study of any one method of thought or teaching. All so-called forms of moral culture,—Buddhism, for instance, or Christianity—may serve to enlarge our minds and our knowledge, but none of them are essential to the 'Learning' of which Confucius spoke. Europeans are very proud of their civilization, but they

neglect the 'Learning' which is the most important of all. Hence it is that we find amongst them a constant struggle for power, gain, and other material advantages, with a growing tendency to appeal to brute force or diplomatic deceit in their daily intercourse with one another. The wisdom which the Sovereign acquires must ultimately become the standard which his people will follow: it is therefore of the utmost importance that the Sovereign should be well trained in the teachings of Confucius exclusirely."

The following extract will show how far Motoda was from endorsing the materialistic tendencies which are, alas, coming as much to the frout in Japan as elsewhere.

"Some people tell me," he says in his lecture on 'Filial Piety and Brotherly Love as the Foundations of practical Charity,' —some people tell me that filial piety and brotherly love (*tei*) are mere private virtues which have very little to do with national welfare and prosperity, and that steam engines and political economy are far more potent as instruments of civilization. But to these arguments I answer with an emphatic "no." If a nation, in its national capacity, departs from the practice of these virtues, which are the very foundations of humanity, and devotes its whole thought to the acquisition of material prosperity and nothing else, the result will be that there will soon be no loyal subject left. Why is it that the so-called civilized nations are so ready to engage in war with one another? Is it not that they value the civilization which is material and intellectual more highly than they do that which is moral? If they had constantly attached more value to the latter than they have done to the former, there would have been no war among them. A true and solid peace, national or international, can only be attaimed by the practice of the moral virtues,"

In another lecture, speaking of love, he says:—"The principle of love comprehends the whole universe. It was love that separated the Heavens and the Earth out of the primeval chaos: it is love that causes the sun and moon to shine, the

rivers to flow, and the plants to put forth leaves and flowers. It is the source of life for all things living. Man himself is conceived and born by virtue of love, every motion, and every breath being but a manifestation of that great Motive Power. But Love must begin with the object nearest to itself, and thus flow out and out in ever widening circles. Love is unbounded: its power would not be spent even though it should comprehend all nations, all ages, and all things visible and invisible within its capacious embrace."

What a foundation is there here for a practical realization of the highest conceptions of Christianity such as the world has not yet seen!

In the matter of education he was thoroughly at one with the ideas which Japan has put and is putting into practice so vigorously and, as far as we can see, so thoroughly.

"The chief purpose of education is the bringing up of nationals (*hon-koku-jin*), and Japan would be better off with no education than with one that failed to foster the spirit of patriotism."

And yet the system of education which he had in his mind's eye was by no means a system of godless instruction. He contemplated a system that should be religious in the best, widest, and why should we not add, the highest, sense of the term. This seems to be shown by the last extract which we will quote from his lectures.

"Virtue comprehends all manner of good. Intellect apart from virtue must be crooked and perverse, and the people who try to distinguish between intellectual and moral education, and who say that the former is the all-important factor in civilization shew that they do not understand the meaning and import of the word 'virtue.'"

Nakamura Keiu. 1832-1891.

In the history of the Shushi School of philosophy during the Tokugawa period which we have been following under the guidance of Professor Inouye's lectures we have seen Confucianism allied with Buddhism in

the sixteenth century in the courbat against Christianity. When the immediate object of their alliance had been for the time attained, and Christianity had disappeared from the surface of Japanese life, we have noticed that there arose an estrangement between the two allies, all the earlier leaders of the Shushi school having been rebels against Buddhism, in one form or other. The rebellion against Buddhism produced, in the first instance, attempts to divorce religion from philosophy, and to establish systems of philosophy in which religion had no part. The divorce was impossible, and presently we find Shushi leaders like Yamazaki Anzai casting about for forms of religion to provide spiritual sanctions for the moral and intellectual conclusions of their own systems. Those sanctions some found in the national Shintoism of the eighteenth century Loyalists, whose political convictions were so near their own. It was hardly, however, to be expected that Shushi philosophers should acquiesce in the system built on the extremely unphilosophical legends of the *Kojiki*, and accordingly we find, first, an extremely rationalized system of Shinto, with elements of philosophy so extremely like those of the West as almost to suggest some unacknowledged familiarity with the forbidden teachings whose echoes still lingered faintly in the country, and then, a bold eclecticism, such as that of Gonzai and Motoda, the former of whom claims that any system which works for the good of the state is pleasing to the heart of Confucius, whilst the latter boldly includes both Buddhism and Christianity as sources from which the philosopher may profitably draw inspiration and learning. It is not without significauce that the last name which Professor Inouye takes in his regular list of the Shushi succession should be that of Nakamura Keiu, the Sage of Koishikawa in Yedo, the translator of Smiles' books on 'Self-Help' and 'Character,' who was himself a professed Christian of the Unitarian type. When the seed falls to ground it dies, if it does not die it remains alone. If it dies, it germinates and brings forth, first the blade, then the

ear, and afterwards, if sunshine and rain be propitious, the full corn in the ear.

Of Nakamura himself not much is to be said. He was a professor in the Imperial University of Tokyo and established a private school of his own in Koishikawa, which for a long time was one of the flourishing centres of the nascent revival of learning. He devoted himself more to literature than to the teaching of philosophy properly so called, and, besides his books, has left behind him a collection of speeches the titles of which will suggest the thoughts which were at work in his brain.

"On the practical Identity of Moral Theories both Ancient and Modern, both Oriental and Occidental."

"I believe in the Creator."

"On the Identity of Virtue and Happiness."

APPENDIX I.

SHUSHI PHILOSOPHERS OF THE MITO SCHOOL.

Independent of the Main Branch of the Shushi philosophers there was anothers succession of teachers in the eastern town of Mito, the seat of one of the Tokugawa Houses, of whom Dr. Inouye gives a description. These philosophers have no special scientific value, but they are extremely interesting for the influence they exerted on the political developments of the country. They were ardent Imperialists, and the main work to which they devoted themselves was the Dai Nihon Shi, or History of Japan, a work whose chief aim it was to define the rightful line of the Imperial Succession, and to promote feelings of loyalty to the Imperial House.

The School commenced with Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700), Daimyo of Mito, commonly known as Giko,

and continued actively propagating its opinions until the events of Meiji, made the advocacy of Imperial claims a superfluity. Mitsukuni was the grandson of Iyeyasu, and commenced the compilation of the *Dai Nihon Shi* in 1657, shortly after his own succession to the Daimyate.* That he considered the compilation of this history as the main work of his life is shown by the fact that his tombstone gives it as his principal claim to the grateful remembrance of posterity.

Many scholars were at different times connected with the compilation of this monumental history, a work which was more noted for its thorough-going advocacy of Imperialism than for its scrupulous investigations into the accuracy of the facts which it records. Amongst these scholars we notice Kuriyama Sempō (1671-1706), Azaka Tampaku (1656-1737) Miyake Kwanran (1675-1712) and a Chinaman named Shun Shunsui. It is to be noted that Chinese Influences were considerable in Mito at this period, the Lord of Mito having given an asylum to several distinguished refugees from China who, in return, rendered him many services such as the laying out of the beautiful gardens of the Mito Yashiki in Tokyo. It was at this period also that was founded the Obaku sect of Zen Buddhism, a small sect which has many Chinese peculiarities.

The original compilers of the *Dai Nihon Shi* were not absolutely at one in their views. Thus Kuriyama Sempo maintained that the actual possession of the three "divine treasures" (sword, seal and mirror,) was sufficient to establish the legitimacy of the occupant of the throue, while Miyake Kwanran insisted that legitimacy depended more on the rightfulness of the claim than on the simple possession of heirlooms which might be acquired by force or frand. The disagreement between the compilers produced a certain amount of inevitable hesitancy in their judgments, but Kuriyama's opinions seem to have prevailed, the legitimacy of the Emperor Go Komatsu, of

* Appendix II.

the northern Dynasty, being allowed on the ground that he was actually in possession of the Divine Instruments.

After the death of the last of the original batch of workers, the compilation of the history was much neglected, and very little was done in this direction until the years immediately preceding the Restoration, when the Mito historians once more renewed their activity. Noteworthy names in connection with these labours are Tachiwara Suiken (1744-1823) a philosopher of the "Classical School," though favourably disposed to Shushi doctrines, Fujita Yūkoku (1774-1826), whose "learning comprehended all ages and all theories and who decided all things by the Sacred Books," Fujita Tōko (1806 1855) son of the above, with his friend and contemporary Aizawa Yasushi, and last, but not least, the great Tokugawa Seishō, better known as Rekkō, one of the leading spirits in the great movement of the fifties which culminated in the overthrow of his own House, and the restoration of the Imperial Family on the ruins of the Tokugawa. It is too early as yet to write a calm and trustworthy history of the stirring times in which these men laboured and strove, but certainly no history of Japan will be complete which leaves out of consideration the school of philosophers, nominally Shushi, which found safety under the protecting *aegis* of the great Mito Daimyos of the House of Tokugawa. The year 1907 has seen the final completion of this great History.

APPENDIX II.

I am indebted to Mr. Hagiya, of the Normal School at Mito, for the following account of the *Dai-nihon-shi.*

It was in the second year of Shōhō* (2305 after the accession of the Emperor Jimmu) that Mitsukuni first conceived the idea of compiling the "Dai Nihon Shi."

One day he was reading the biography of Hakui in the Shiki (a book of Chinese history), when he was so much moved

* A. D. 1645.

with admiration at his noble character that he patted the book and said with a sigh: "But for this record, I should not know about the civilization of the Gu and Ka ages (two ancient dynasties in China). Then how can I, unless it be by history, induce my posterity to acquire the knowledge of the past and thus move them to noble deeds?" He then determined to put the plan in execution.

In the third year of Meireki (A. D. 1657). Mitsukuni at the age of thirty established a historiographical bureau at which a number of learned men in his service were engaged. This is the book which was entitled the "Dai nihonshi" in the fifth year of Shōtoku (1715), and which has been known by that name down to the present day.

Mitsukuni was filial to his father and affectionate to his brothers. He kept no concubines though it was the custom of the day, and in everything else conducted himself on ethical principles. He also made no small efforts in order to give his people a clear idea of their loyal duty and the distinction between the Emperor and the subjects. At the time of his birth, the days of civil war were over, and the country was at peace under the Shogun Taiyūkō (Iemitsu), who by successfully carrying out the policy of his father ruled the country with greater influence than ever. As it was, there was nothing in the world that troubled Mitsukuni's mind except the vices of the bloody age which still prevailed, and the deficiencies in the virtue of loyalty and in the idea of right and title. It was most necessary to institute these doctrines into the minds of the people in general, and to impress moral ideas upon them, otherwise there would he no knowing what might not be done at any time against the throne under the same pretexts as actuated the Hōjōs and the Ashikagas. These points which Mitsukuni was most afraid of, led him to strengthen his determination on the compilation of the history. Of the innumerable books written by him, the Dai-nihon-shi still remains an immortal work for all generations. All arrangements and plans were made

after repeated consultations with his historians and with the utmost prudence. It may rightly be said that one half of his cares throughout his lifetime were concentrated in this work. To take away the Empress Jingō from the list of the successors of the throne; to place Prince Ōtomo (the Emperor Kobun) in the rank of Emperors; to regard the Nancho family as having the legitimate claim to the throne; and at the same time to recognize the claim of the Emperor Go-Komatsu, the Three Sacred Vessels having been returned to Kyoto during his reign,—but for broad outlook of Mitsukuni, who could have accomplished all these great changes in the history of Japan? Thus the legal and illegal claims to the throne, the loyal and disloyal subjects, are discriminated in the book beyond possibility of doubt.

In the third year of Kanbun (1663) when Mitsukuni was thirty eight years of age, he engaged for his new service Shu-shi-yu (also called Shunsui by his literary name), a Chinese scholar and a refugee of the Min Dynasty, from Yanagawa in Chikugo province (Japan). It was twenty years after Mitsukuni had first thought of compiling the history, and eight years after he had actually set about the work. So it admits no doubt that the Chinese scholar had nothing to do with this scheme of Mitsukuni, nor did he give any suggestions with regard to the book, since the work was done by the historians especially commissioned by Mitsukuni. Mitsukuni, a true friend of the wise, had an inordinate love for knowledge. He looked up to Shu-shi-yu as a great scholar of the Min Dynasty, and condescended himself to treat him as his teacher, from whom he received lectures, as a disciple, on morality and learning with dauntless assiduity. In short, Mitsukuni sought for the thorough mastery of the moral teachings of the sages (Confucius and Mencius) as well as the literature and the ethics, both ancient and modern.

On April 17th in the second year of Tenwa (1628 A. D.), Shushi-yu died a natural death at the age of 83. On the 26th,

his remains were interred by Mitsukuni at the foot of Zuiryū-san, in the Kuji district of Hitachi province, the mound being made after the manner of the Min Dynasty. On the 7th of July, Mitsukuni after consulting with his officials, gave him the posthumous name, "Bun-kyo Sensei, (a worshipper of learning). In the first year of Teikyo (A. D. 1666), a shrine dedicated to him was erected in the villa at Komagome, Yedo, and an annual festival was held in his memory. In the 8th year of Genroku, a monument was erected in his honor at the foot of Zuiryū-san, on which were inscribed the following characters by Mitsukuni himself: "Minchōkun-Shi shu shi-no-haka" (the tomb of Shishu-shi from the Min Dynasty). He also published a collection of thirty volumes written by Shu-shi-yu with these words, "Compiled by Minamoto no Mitsukuni, a disciple of the author."

The circumstances of Shu-shi-yu's coming to Mito were in substance as follows.

He was born on the 12th of July, the 28th year of Man-reki during the Min Dynasty. From childhood, he showed marked sagacity equal even to a grown man. When he grew to be a boy, he devoted himself in learning and soon came to be known for his promising genius. In his twelfth year, he was disgusted at the moral corruption of the world and the deplorable state of things in his country. Giving up his idea of entering on a public career, he decided to enjoy a secluded life. From that time he persisted in a flat refusal to the frequent calls of the court for his service, nor did he lend his ears to any advice of his friends for eminence. In the fifth year of Eireki, the army of the Shin (the present dynasty of China) was on the point of threatening the throne of his dynasty. Expecting nothing but the downfall of his country, Shu-shi-yu fled to Annam by way of Shūzan (a southern state) and thence to Japan. It is supposed that he intended, with the help of the chiefs of Shūzan, to borrow reinforcements from our country in secret, though he never uttered a word of this design during

his stay in Japan. At the time, it being prohibited for any foreigners to remain in this country, he was compelled to return to Shūzan. He found his country in a state of great confusion, law and order being disregarded. Anxious as he was to save his country from destruction, there was nothing for it but to leave it to the natural issue. In the seventh year, he made his second visit to Japan, but soon after went over to Annam. By thus wandering abroad, he probably meant to rouse the hearts of his country-men towards their land. Indeed, he did his best in order to bring about a new state of things but to his great disappointment, he found his strenuous efforts all fruitless. Everything went against him. At last being conscions that his further stay at home would only induce him the more to follow the customs of the new dynasty, Shin, broke his hat, tore his robe, shaved his head, and thus disguising himself and giving up all his schemes, resolved to go abroad for the preservation of his fidelity. In the thirteenth year, he came a third time to Japan and resided at Nagasaki. (the second year of Manji, 2319 A. D. 1663)

A scholar of Yanagawa in Chikugo province, Andō Moriyasu (also called Shōan as a literary name) who had a sincere regard for the learning and virtue of Shu-shi yu, was solicitous for his instruction and besought him to remain in this country. This being granted, the scholar submitted a paper signed by him and his associates to the Nagasaki governor for permission for Shu-shi-yu to stay in Japan. This request was granted and Shu shi-yu, a poor wanderer abroad with no means to support himself, now found a friend in this Japanese, who had the liberality to divide half the sum of his own salary for his subsistence and who spent all his spare time in receiving his lectures on Chinese classics, in which branch he was soon making rapid improvement.

In the fourth year of Kanbun, Mitsukuni sent to Nagasaki, Koyake Seijun, a scholar in his service, to inquire for the wise and the learned for the purpose of collecting materials for the

"Dai-nihon-shi." Seijun frequented Shu-shi-yu's house where the two were often engaged in discussions on topics, ancient and modern. "If a lord in Yedo is anxious for your teaching," asked he to Shu-shi-yu, "would you comply and come to the east?" "The development of learning and the preaching of moral doctrine," replied Shu-shi-yu," are all important for a country, especially for yours. I have indeed a great hope for this land; if I am to be treated not by the sum of salary, but with civility proper for a teacher, I will go, notwithstanding my deficiencies both in virtue and wisdom. But being unworthy of teaching in a college, you must give me time to think more about it." On Seijun's returning to Yedo, Mitsukuni was told in detail of the talent, wisdom, and noble character of Shu-shi-yu. In the following year, he asked the government for permission to employ him, and when it was granted, he sent for him at once.

When the message reached Shu-shi-yu, he held a consultation with his interpreter and disciples as to whether or not he should go to his new office. All of them said, "Mitsukuni, who is eager for knowledge and respects the wise, has sent this special message for you. Yon ought not to decline this." At last he was persuaded, and in July he set out for Yedo, where he was received with the greatest courtesy by Mitsukuni as his teacher and friend. In August Mitsukuni returned to his estate in company with Shu-shi-yu. In December they went up to Yedo and then to Mito. Whenever they met and talked together, Shu-shi-yu would always give necessary suggestions and advice by hints and allusions to events, ancient and modern, to the satisfaction of his disciple. Chinese classics and moral doctrine were always their favorite subjects of study and discussion. In the eighth year, they returned to Yedo, where Shu-shi-yu was treated with the utmost kindness and courtesy.

REFERENCE BOOKS FOR THE ABOVE STATEMENT.

1.—Preface to the "Dai-nihon-shi." 大日本史序文
2.—History of the Compilation of the same. 修史始末
3.—Biographical Story of Gikō. 義公行實
4.—Biographical Story of Shun-suni sensei. 舜水先生行實
5.—History of the Kōdokan. 弘道館記述義
6.—History of Hitachi province. 常陸國誌
7.—Anecdotes of Tōgen. (桃源遺事)
8.—Dai Nihon Biographical Dictionary. (大日本人名辭書)
9.—Chinese Biographical Dictionary. (支那人名辭書)
10.—Educational History of Japan. (日本教育史)

KAMO CHŌMEI'S "NAMELESS SELECTION."

無 名 抄

By KAREL JAN HORA.

Mumeishō—the "Nameless Selection"—is, according to the opinion of some Japanese authors the last of Kamo Chōmei's works, published shortly before, or after the poets death.[1] (1214 or later.) It is represented by two large thin volumes blockprinted, each of them containing about forty short articles relating to various literary subjects. These stories are dry in style and without much literary value and perhaps could not be collected under a more suitable title than that which the author gives them—the "Nameless Selection."

These two books contain a selection from the poet's scratchbook, and though insignificant at first glance, they are a treasure box for the inquiring student of Japanese literature and philology. They contain short but interesting descriptions of Chōmei's contemporaries bits about their private lives, the style of their poems, their opinions on divers literary subjects; their fancies and quarrels, ending sometimes with Chōmei 'sopinions on these subjects. Most of the distinguished literary men who lived

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1. When comparing the incomplete and in a simple style written articles in the "Nameless Selection" with the carefully composed sentences in the "Hōjōki" and the "Shiki Monogatari" it seems more credible that Chōmei never expected to publish the notes which apparently were jotted down for his own reference and use. They perhaps were collected and arranged by somebody else after Chōmei's death. Even the article serving as an introduction to the Mumeishō has perhaps figured in the contents of these notes and was later changed to serve its purpose as an intoductory article.

before Chōmei's time are touched upon and opinions of much interest are given. This book especially shows Chōmei in his true light—as a poet interested in everything that was written or discussed in his time, a minute observer of character and a man well acquainted with the oldest Japanese literature. The seventy nine articles of the "Nameless Selection" may be divided into three distinct classes, the first being discussions of poems and style, the second incidents in the lives of different poets; the third is interesting only to the philologist, containing discussions about the origin and proper usage of certain ancient words.

In order to show the Mumeishō and the character of its contents, it did not seem necessary to translate all of the articles therein and a few were selected which it seemed would represent the work. A translation of the table of contents is added. In this the titles of the articles show well the character of the subjects treated. This may be of some value to those who desire information about a particular subject discussed, and will simplify the work to the extent of making a laborious search of the original table of contents quite unnecessary, or at least limited.

All following translations were made from the edition published on the eighteenth day of the fifth month of the twenty second year of Genkō. (1323).[1]

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1. In the original 元享二二年 which I believe is mistaken for 元享二年 or for 元享三年.

INTRODUCTION.

"The spirit of a poem's subject should be well understood" is written in Toshiyori's book called Zuinō.[1]

Things which may be expressed indirectly sound badly when not expressed in this manner, as even some things not expressed should be understood. Take for example: The morning sunshine *in the heavens*,[2] the falling *of blossoms*,[3] *the hototogisu* flying across the clouds,[4] the moonshine *on the sea*,[5] and other similar expressions. The second part[6] should never be mentioned, because when reading the first part the second is understood.

How to suggest different subjects lightly cannot be taught, neither can it be learned. But if the subject of the poem is well grasped even this art of light suggestion will be understood. If a flower is the subject; the poem must be wrought with deep feeling: wishes of infinite joy, and of constant love should be expressed. In these poems the poet may offer his life for that of a fading flower or forget his way home while gazing at the reddening maples. All such poems must be written with deep understanding. Some poems of the old collections do not posses this quality but their good style covers these faults. Yet such poems should not be taken as an example. When poems are read at meetings the poem showing the broader comprehension of the subject is always considered best as even a priest preaching Buddhist doctrines will be better understood if he firmly believes in the subject of his discourse.

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1. Minamoto no Toshiyori, a well known poet of the twelfth century; edited the Kinyo Wakashū (金葉和歌集) and wrote the following books: Sansui Zuinō (山水隨腦), Mumeishō (無名抄), Kuden (口傳), a collection of poems, and Enshō Awase (艶書合) a collection of love letters.

2. Gyō-ten (曉天)

3. Rakka (落花)

4. Kumo ma no hototogisu (雲間の啼公)

5. Kaijō no tsuki (海上の月)

6. printed in Itallics.

One must always take care not to err in the subject matter described by the poem, but to hold to the subject too firmly is also bad.

For example the hototogisu being the subject, the poet's mind must search the hototogisu in mountain and field, and describe its song as if he really heard it. But he must never say he waited for the uguisu to sing. When speaking of the cry of the deer he may suggest depression and sorrow; but he never should say that he waited for him to cry. Errors of this kind would spoil even the best poem. The poet may search for sakura blossoms but never for yanagi—he may expectantly look for the first snow but never for autumn rains and hailstorms. He may offer his life for the fading flowers but never for maple leaves.

Neglect of these essentials would suggest that one is not familiar with the old poets. It is therefore better to know and to understand old poems and their qualities also to consult them when trying to improve by their style.

WRITING IN KANA.

Old people say that Kokinshū was the first book in which Kana was used in writing the introduction. The first diary written in Kana is Ō-kagami. Ise Monogatari and Gosenshū were the first books in which Kana was used in writing poems—and the best Monogatari thus written is the Genji.[1]

This should be well considered and imitated. Everything should be written without the use of Manyogana[2] and only such things which cannot be well expressed in Kana should be written in Manyo. In Manyoshū all "leaping" signs also those that must be accentuated are left out. For example "Shinra" is written "Shira." In the introduction to Kokinshū "Kisen" is substituted by "Kise"—which illustrates what I said. To make the composition good certain expressions should not be used beside each other, for in using the same expression repeatedly Kana may not convey the meaning and Manyo must be introduced. This of course is meant only for bad poems.

In the introduction to Kokinshū this pair is written: "*Hana ni naku uguisu, mizu ni sumu kawazu.*"[3] In this way different figures may be used but one must take care not to become too rigid. In places of comparison as "*suga no ne no nagaki yo,*" "*koyurugi no isogite,*" "*Iso no kami furinuru*"[4] etc., expressions that were used of old should be employed or others may be skilfully made.

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1. Comments on all of these works may be found in Mr. W. G. Aston's History of Japanese Literature.

2. See Prof. B. H. Chamberlain's excellent work: Practical Introduction to the study of Japanese Writing; Seventh section: "More about the Kana."

3. Translated in W. G. Aston's Hist. of Jap. Lit. p. 63.: ".....the nightingale singing among the flowers.....the frog dwelling in the water....."

4. "long as the roots of suga" (a kind of rush); "busy like koyurugi" (a kind of small tree growing along the seashore and busily shaking when touched by the waves), "decaying like a shrine on the seashore....."

Shomei said that Kiyosuke[1] was very clever in using the Kana. In his first book called Eiku no Nikki he used this excellent phrase: "*Hana no moto ni hana no marodo kitari; kaki no moto ni Kakinomoto no ei wo kaketari*[2]....." The Kana style should be like this.

DISCOURSE ABOUT SHIKIBU[3] AND AKAZOME.[4]

A certain man said:

—In Toshiyori's book "*Zuinō*" it is stated that Sadayori Chūnagon[5] once asked Kintō Dainagon:"[6] Which is the more famed Shikibu or Akazome?"—The Dainagon's answer was: "Shikibu wrote *Koya to mo hito wo yū beki ni*[7]..... I cannot say which of the two poets is the better."—Continuing

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1. Fujiwara Kiyosuke, a poet. Died 1177. Wrote: Kokinshū no Chū (古今集の註), Waka Ichiji Shō (和歌一字抄), Kiyosuke Ason Shū (清輔朝臣集), Kinsen Shū (金撰集), Bokuteki Shū (牧笛集), Zoku Shikwa Waka Shū (續詞花和歌集), Ogi Shō (奥儀抄), Fukuro Zōshi (袋草紙), Kōyō Waka Shū (紅葉和歌集), and Eiku no Nikki (影供の日記) which I found nowhere mentioned, except in this article.

2. ....."a guest came to the flower and Kakinomoto's shadow fell to the root of the persimon tree," which phrase sounds in translation very clumsy and is not even a paraphrase of the original. (Kakinomoto no Hitomaro, mentioned above was an excellent poet of the eigth century.)

3. Izumi Shikibu, poetess (11th century?)

4. Akazome no Emon, poetess, (11th century?) supposed author of the Eiwa Monogatari. (榮華物語)

5. Fujiwara no Sadayori, (994-1045).

6. Fujiwara no Kintō, poet (965-1041.) father of Fujiwara no Sadayori. Became priest in 1024, and lived on Kitayama Mount near Kyoto.

He wrote: Shinsen Zuinō (新撰髓腦)
Kitayama Shō (北山抄)
Wakan Rōei Shū (和漢朗詠集)

7. —Tsu no kuni no, koya to mo hito wo, yū beki ni, hima koso nakere, ashi no yaebuki.—(from Izumi Shikibu Shū.)

the Chūnagon said: "Some people called Shikibu's poem *Haruka ni terase yama no ha no tsuki*[1].....excellent....."—The Dainagon replied: "This is because people judge without knowing. *Kuraki yori kuraki ni iru*.....is a Buddhist phrase which needs no explanation. The final phrase of the poem can readily be understood from the beginning. But consider *Koya to mo hito wo yū beki ni* and *Hima koso nakere ashi no yae buki*.....which expressions no ordinary person could imitate. I have answered."

In this discourse there are two things which are difficult to understand. It is said that Shikibu is excellent; but when consulting the documents reporting poets' meetings held in public and those held by the court officials one may see that Akazome was highly esteemed. There is nothing written about Shikibu. Then again if Shikibu's poem *Haruka ni terase* is consulted one will find there, not only an elegant style, but good sentiment. Why then did the Dainagon refuse to answer? I cannot understand his motive.....—

The man added.

I will try to explain:—Which of the two was better Shikibu or Akazome, the Dainagon could not decide. Many think that Shikibu excelled. During a man's life, people, observing his deeds both good or bad usually value him according to personal character. The style of Shikibu's poems has no equal.....but it seems that Akazome was not sufficiently circumspect[2] in her intercourse with people.

If one consults *Murasaki Shikibu Nikki*[3] he will find the following statement:—"Izumi Shikibu writes sometimes of mat-

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1. —Kuraki yori, kuraki michi nizo, irinubeki, haruka ni terase, yama no ha no tsuki.—This poem Shikibu sent to Shōku Shōnin. It means: "In dark places, upon dark roads people throd; Illuminate the world, you, rising moon!"—

2. We are told that Akazome's life resembled to that lead by the hero of the Ise Monogatari.

3. Murasaki Shikibu Nikki, (紫式部日記) a diary of the poetess Murasaki Shikibu the author of Genji Monogatari (died 992.)

ters which she does not well understand. She writes hastily but in good style. Thus her works seem to be written with good taste, and express sentiment. But her poems are in fact not poems. People when reading them, read over and over adding here and there a good word. Shikibu could not judge other poems, good or bad. She wrote just as her mouth recited, and therefore I do not think that she could be called excellent.

The mother of Tamba no Kami was known in the palace under the name Masahira no Emon.[1] She was not of noble descent but she wrote beautiful poems. Being a true poet she wrote upon few subjects and even those poems dealing with the most insignificant subjects were very good."—

Not being of noble descent the style of her poems was little valued in her lifetime, though she was skillfull. She wrote many excellent things and her poetry prompted by all occasions was good ; specimens were included in every collection then published.

A man called Sone no Yoshitada whose poetry was an object of ridicule during his lifetime, once went voluntarily on a celebration trip with Emperor Enyū[2] and nowadays the style of his poems is considered good.

During the reign of Emperor Ichijō[3] when poetry became the fashion these seven poets were pronounced skilled in a book written by E-no-Sotsu :[4] Michinobu, Sanekata, Nagayoshi, Sukechika,[5] Shikibu, Emon, and Sone no Yoshitada. Perhaps even these poets were during their lives not much praised.

In speaking of Shikibu's poems and considering whether they were good or bad Kintō no Kyō was not unjust. But the man who remarked that the Dainagon's judgement was strange, was right.—In short if it was to judge the skill of the poet *Koya to mo hito wo* is good but Shikibu's poem *Haruka ni terase* is far the better one.

1. Akazome ? 2. Reigned 986-1011. 3. Reigned 969-984.
4. E-no-sotsu, seems to be another name of Kojijū, son of Akazome no Emon.
5. Ōnakatomi Sukechika, Shintō priest, (956-1036.)

To give an example: If, while passing along a road one sees gold laying in the dust, that gold is a treasure. But even the most beautiful and skillfully made skewer or needle cannot be called treasures.

If a man wants gold and has it he cannot be honoured for having it. The needle is not a treasure but if its proprietor uses it to produce beautiful articles he should be praised for his skill. In this spirit did the Damagon judge.

When judging poems it must be remembered that their merits changed with time and therefore it is possible that at the time *Koya to mo hito wo* was written it was considered good. But people do not seem to know this and it is for better men of a later date to definitely decide this question.

ONO NO KOMACHI.[1]

Before Nijō no Kisaki became empress it is told, that she was stolen by Narihira no Ason[2] and carried away. But her brothers discovered and returned her to her home. This adventure is well discribed in the Nipon-ki.[3]

1. Ono no Komachi, poetess of the tenth century, well known composer of Waka poems many of which appear in Tsurayuki's collection Kokin Wakashū. It is related that she became very poor and unpopular in her old age. For this reason she left the capitol and went to ask alms throughout the country. The place and date of her death are unknown. She is the author of Ono no Komachi Shū (小野小町集) Tsurayuki says: There is feeling in her poems but little vigour. She is like a lovely woman who is suffering from ill health.....

2. Ariwara no Narihira was the child of prince Ahō. He was a well known poet and according to old traditions the best looking man of old Japan. He died in 880. Narihira wrote: Ariwara no Narihira Ason Shū (在原業平朝臣集)

3. I have been unable to find any comment on this story—except in the sixth chapter of the Ise Monogatari, in a note, which appears both in the Genna and the Genroku editions: "..... (This girl's name was Takako. In the fourth month of the first year of Gwankyo (877) she became empress at the age of twenty six.) Nijō a very graceful maiden was at that time in the emperors house as concubine. She was stolen and carried away on the back of her captor....."

The two brothers being very angry with Narihira no Ason cut off his cue, which fact though unknown to the people made him ashamed to go among them. He therefore announced that he would take a trip to Azuma in order to gather material for his songs. In Michi no Kuni while making his journey thence he stopped in a village called Yasujima. At night he heard somebody in the fields sing the first half (Kami no ku) of a poem.....

"*Aki kaze no, fuku ni tsukete mo, aname.....aname*[1].....

He looked in vain for the singer—he discovered nothing except a human scull.

In the morning when he again went to behold the scull he saw that from one of the eye cavities a susuki[2] plant was growing, and the wind blowing through its leaves sang the song. Upon inquiry he was informed by a man that the scull was that of Ono no Komachi.

Narihira upon hearing it felt very sad and wept—at that time he composed the remainder of the song.....

"*Ono to wa iwaji, susuki oitari*[3].....''

The field in which this had occured was called Tamatsukuri no Ono. Was perhaps Tamatsukuri no Komachi[4] and Ono no Komachi one and the same person? People argue it.

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1. Even if the autumn wind blows, lonely, lonely.....

2. Eularia Japonica.

3. Without saying that it is Ono, the susuki grows.....(the word "ono" is here used with two meanings. See prof. B. H. Chamberlain's essay "On the use of pillow words and plays upon words in Japanese Poetry" in Vol. V. Part: I, of these Transact.)

4. Tamatsukuri no Komachi is according to some Japanese critics the name used by Ono no Komachi after she had left the capitol. (see Nipon Jinmei Jishō.)

QUARREL OF TOSHIYORI AND KISHUN.

It is told that Kishun[1] called Toshiyori an illiterate. Toshiyori hearing it said: "Neither Fumitoki[2] and Tomotsuna[3] nor Mitsune[4] and Tsurayuki[5] wrote good poems—."

ON THE END OF THE FIRST PART OF A POEM "TE" SHOULD NOT BE USED.

Again, it is said that toward the end of autumn Toshiyori Ason read this poem at a priests house in Unkyo-ji:

"*Akenu to mo, nao aki kaze no, otozurete,*
Nobe no keshiki yo, omogawari suru."[6]

Though no name of the author was read Kishun knew the poem was unmistakably Toshiyori's and with the intention of challenging him he said: "How can this be called a poem? Using *te* in the middle of a poem is decidedly wrong. It shocks the ear—it sounds terribly."—In this manner he spoke continually of it, but Toshiyori deigned him no reply.

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1. Fujiwara no Kishun (12th century) known because of his skill in composition. Being very conceited and a pityless critic, he had no friends among his contemporaries. Even Chōmei did not like him; his selfesteem being exposed in a few stories of the Mumeishō. He wrote: Etsumoku Shō (悅目抄) Shin Sanjūrokka Sen (新三十六歌仙) and Shin Sen Roei Shū (新撰朗詠集)

2. Sugawara no Fumitoki (897-981?) excellent in composition.

3. Oe no Tomotsuna, poet, (died 957) Wrote Kon gen roku (坤元錄) and Shin koku shi (新國史), both works in Chinese.

4. Ochi kochi no Mitsune, poet, lived in the ninth century. He was the most intimate friend of Tsurayuki.

5. Ki no Tsurayuki, (died 946) the best known poet of Japan. With Mitsune and Mibu no Tadami he edited the Kokin Wakashū for which he himself wrote the introduction. He wrote: Shin Sen Waka Snū (新撰和歌集) Manyō Shū Shō (萬葉集抄) and Tossa Nikki (土佐日記). See Mr. W. G. Aston's essay "An ancient Japanese Classic" in Vol. III. Part II. of these Transactions.

6. "Even as the end of autumn comes the autumn wind still blows and changes the scenes of the field."

Rinken a man from Ise said: "I also know a famous poem,"—to which Kishun replied:" Well let us hear it—I know it will not be worth hearing."—Rinken said: "*Sakura chiru, kono shita kaze wa, samukarade*[1]....." and he made that "*te*" on the end very long and loud.

Kishun's face became green with anger; he made no reply but drooped his head. At that time Toshiyori smiled faintly.....

NAKATSUNA'S POEMS CONTAIN IDIOMS.

Izu no Kami Nakatsuna[2] published a collection of one hundred of his poems, making in them a very frequent use of the colloquial.

When Dai Ni Nyudō heard it he remarked: "A man using such language in poems may write one hundred or one thousand good poems but no one reading them will ever say that they are good."

Such faults happen to be in poems if nobody is asked to correct them.

DOIN'S ZEAL IN POETRY.

Noone compares with Doin Nyudō[3] who was very zealous in writing poems. Till his seventieth or eightieth year he pray-

1. "Sakura blossoms are falling-but here below the wind seems not cold....."

2. Minamoto no Nakatsuna, son of Minamoto no Yorimasa, favorite varrior of Takakura Tennō died with his father in 1183. See note 1 p. 95 Wrote: Hyaku Waka Shū (百和歌集)

3. The lay bonze Doin, son of Fujiwara Kiyotaka. Wrote Genzon Shū (現存集)

ed for the ability of composing good poems and to that account he made every month a pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi, which was a very hard task indeed.

At a poets' meeting it happened that Kiyosuke, who was correcting poems not considering those of Doin good enough threw them away. But a short time after Doin came to his house crying earnestly and asking for an explanation. Kiyosuke pitied him but could give him no answer.

When Doin became ninety he was so deaf that at poets' meetings he had to sit very near to the reader in order to hear and when talking privately had to put his ear close to the speaker's mouth.

When Senzaishū was compiled (which was after the death of Doin) there were eighteen of his songs included into this collection. They were not very good but were put there in recognition of his zeal. In a dream Doin appeared before the compiler[1] and with tears of joy in his eyes thanked him for his deed. Then the compiler pitying him included two more songs and thus it happened that there were twenty of his poems included. This is written in a book.

ABOUT THE DIFFERENT NAMES FOR THE WAVE.

Noritsuna Nyudō said that there were many names for the wave: O-nami, Sa-nami, Sazara-nami, Sone-te-utsushi, and Hama-narashi, all of these being names of waves but the kinds of wave which they expressed were not known.

When asking Kenshō, he said that small waves are called Sa-nami, Saza-nami, Sazara-nami, and that all these names are used to beautify the poem and that one may use that name

1. Fujiwara no Shunzei, who completed Senzaishū in 1186.

which one thinks best. But a man who came from Shimato in Tsukushi province, speaking about different things said without being asked: "South from Tsukushi, I forgot whether in Osami or Satsuma there is a big port where during the fourth and the fifth month big waves are rising. The waves in the fourth month are called U-nami, while in the fifth month people call them Sa-nami." It would be quite interesting to know whether those names are from Uzuki and Satsuki.[1]

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "ASARI" AND "ISARI."

Certain people believe that "Asari" has the same meaning as "Isari." A thing which is done in the morning is called "Asari," if done in the evening "Isari." This is the dialect of women-divers of Azuma.—Truly an interesting thing.

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1. Minamoto no Yorimasa, (Genzai Nyudō) well known varrior and poet. (1105-1180) Died in the combat with Taira no Kiyomori. Wrote: Yorimasa Kiyō Shū (頼政卿集).

2. Son of Minamoto no Toshiyori (end of 12th cent.) Wrote: Kaen Shō (歌苑鈔), Kasen Awase (歌撰合), Shun-e Hoshi Shū (俊恵法師集).

3. 歌仙—a celebrated poet.

4. Poetess, maid of emp. Shirakawa-in. (12th cent.)

5. 和琴 a harp of six strings.

6. Kakinomoto no Hitomaro.

7. 傀儡 has been used with different meanings, primarily meaning a doll, then a dancing girl, and lastly a prostitute.

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1. Buddh. priest, died 1150.

2. Poet of the ninth cent. Wrote Sarumaru Tayū Shū (猿丸太夫集)

3. Otomo no Kuronushi, also called Shigi no Kuronushi, poet of high reputation of the end of the ninth century. After his death he became god under the name: Kuronushi Myōjin.

4. Wrote: Waka Sashiki (和歌作式)

5. Fujiwara no Shunzei, good artist and poet, Kishun's pupil. Died 1204. Edited: Senzai Waka Shū (千載和歌集) Wrote: Korai Futei Shō (古來風体抄), Chō Shuei Sō (長秋詠草).

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1. Ise no Osuke, poetess of the eleventh century. Wrote: Ise no Osuke Shū (伊勢大輔集)
2. Son of Akazome no Emon.
3. Poetess and artist of the twelfth cent.
4. Artist of the 12th cent.
5. Shōbu.
6. Lespedeza Bicolor.
7. Tachibana no Tamenaka. Wrote: Minamoto no Tamenaka Shū.
8. Minamoto no Yorisane, (11th cent.) Wrote: Minamoto no Yorisane Shū (源頼實集)

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36.—The disorder of a recent meeting.
37.—About the Monogatari of lay bonze Shunzei.

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1. Fujiwara no Norikane, died 1165. Wrote: Waka Dōmō Shō (和歌童蒙抄), Kun Shū Rui Shō (薫集類抄), Go Roku Roku Sen (後六六撰).

KING WILLIAM III OF HOLLAND.

KING WILLIAM II OF HOLLAND.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

WILLIAM II. OF HOLLAND AND THE SHŌGUN OF JAPAN.

A. D. 1844.

Several years ago while studying the life of Takano Chōei, or Nagahide as he was probably called in his day, a well known scholar of the Dutch language and literature, who fell a victim to the narrow intolerance of the Tokugawa Government in 1850, my attention was drawn to a letter from the King of Holland, William II., dated February fifteenth, 1844, which was described as having an important relation to the opening of the country to foreign trade.

A translation of this letter was reproduced *in extenso*, though the source from which the translation was borrowed was not indicated.

My friend and former pupil, Professor N. Murakami, of the Imperial University of Tokyo, informs me that what appears to be the official translation is contained in a manuscript entitled *Oranda Ō Shokan narabi ni Kenjōbutsu Mokuroku*, that is to say, "The letter of the King of Holland and the list of his presents [to the Shōgun]." This manuscript I have not been able to find.

It is supposed by some that this manuscript, or its duplicates, is the source from which the various current versions are derived. However, in the work of Watanabe Shujirō, *Sekai ni okeru Nihonjin* ("The Japanese in the World," to use the author's own rendering), where the version which I have chiefly used in my references is to be found, the text of the letter is interrupted by numerous comments which were apparently written very early, if not immediately after the receipt of the

document, perhaps for the special benefit of the Shogun himself. These comments are absent from the version in the life of Takano, though the text of the translation is apparently the same as that used by Watanabe Shujirō. A Manuscript copy of the same translation is preserved in the military museum at the Kudan in Tōkyō. The variations are apparently merely the errors of the copyist. There is an apparently independent translation in Count Katsu Awa's *History of the Japanese Navy* (*Kaigun Rekishi*).

This letter has received little attention from foreign writers on Japanese affairs, though in a biographical sketch of Philipp Franz Siebold, prefixed to the second edition of his work entitled "Nippon,"[1] there is a short extract from it. In the few prefatory words by the editors, the sending of the document is described as "a not sufficiently appreciated step." They further say that the letter might well have been edited by Siebold himself. Certainly, in a letter to Prince Henry of the Netherlands,[2] written from St. Petersburg in March, 1853, he gives expression to much the same sentiments as are contained in the royal missive and he seems to have regarded it as in a sense his special mission to advocate, in Russia as well as Holland, the policy which King William had outlined, namely, that in the interest of Japan herself, as well as that of the commercial world, the country should be speedily opened to foreign trade.

Dr. Inazo Nitobe also has a brief reference to King William's letter in his *Intercourse between the United States and Japan.*[3]

(1) *Nippon-Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben-und Schutzländern, Jezo mit den südlichen, Kurilen, Sachalin, Korea und den Liu-Kiu-inseln von* Ph. Fr. von Siebold, herausgegeben von seinen Söhnen; zweite Auflage. Würzburg und Leipsic. 1897. P. xxvi.

(2) Ibid, P. xxvii.

(3) Dr. Nitobe bases his reference upon Siebold's *Urkundliche Darstellung der Bestrebungen von Niederland und Russland zur Eröffnung Japans für die Schiffahrt und den Seehandel aller Nationen.* Bonn, 1854, pp. 5, 6, 9, 10. See Dr. Nitobe's *Intercourse between the United States and Japan. Baltimore,* The Johns Hopkins Press, 1891, p. 22.

After reading the Japanese version, I at once began inquiries for the original text, but for a long time without success. About a year ago it occurred to me to seek assistance at the American Legation at the Hague. At my request the Secretary of Legation, Roger S. G. Boutell, Esq., now Secretary to the American Embassy at Buenos Ayres, kindly took the matter up and discovered in the Royal Archives a printed copy, in a book the full title of which will be given in a note appended to the original text reproduced in this paper when printed in the Transactions of this Society. Both this text and the English translation I owe to Mr. Boutell's kindness.

In presenting this document to the Society, I have incorporated a few notes, for the most part translations of the comments interspersed here and there throughout the Japanese translation in Mr. Watanabe's work,[4] to which I have already alluded. Possibly most of these may be thought to possess small intrinsic interest; still they help us to picture to ourselves the situation of the reader for whose benefit they were inserted. There is one note, however, of special interest. It is that in which is found the text of the Shōgun's order of 1842 mitigating the severity of a previous order of 1825, which required the unconditional driving from the coast of Japan of all foreign vessels, excepting those of the Dutch on their way to and from Nagasaki.

The reply of the Shōgun's Government is taken also from Mr. Watanabe's work.[5] The text is in the Chinese literary style. It is to be noted that the document emanates not directly from the Shōgun as would naturally be expected, in view of the personal character of the letter received from the King, but this is doubtless due to the fact that the custom then was to regard Holland as a tributary state, and hence

(4) *Sekai ni okeru Nihonjin, Watanabe Shujiro Cho.* Teihō Saihan Tōkyō. *Tōyōdō Hatsuda Meiji 30 nen* (*1897*). P26f.

(5) *Sekai ni okeru Nihonjin*, pp. 31–2.

the reply was delegated to the Shōgun's Ministers. This view is confirmed near the close of the letter by the use of the phrase "sincere loyalty" in describing the King's attitude toward the Shōgun, a phrase which could not well have been used in addressing one who was looked upon as an independent sovereign.

In other respects the tone of the reply is courteous as it would inevitably be in view of its being, in form at least, a communication from the Ministers of the Shōgun.

Fukuchi Genichiro in his *Bakufu Suibo Ron* (page 15) would appear to regard the mitigation of the severity of the old regulations as due to the influence of the King's letter. It is perhaps possible that in his comments he may have still further mitigations in mind; but so far as my investigations have gone, they do not reveal any evidence of such additional mitigations. As will be seen above, the Shōgun's order was issued in 1842, while the King's letter did not reach Japan till the seventh month of the lunar year corresponding to A. D. 1844. The day of the month is not given, but the first day of the seventh month fell that year upon August 14th. It will be remembered also that the King in his letter referred to the Shōgun's order of 1842 and by implication characterised it as insufficient to arrest the impending dangers.

How far this correspondence influenced public opinion in favor of opening the country to foreign trade we do not know. We know, however, that public opinion in favor of that policy was already forming. Count Katsu in his History of the Japanese Navy referring to this letter says:—

"In the seventh month of the first year of the Kōkwa period, namely, the forty-first of the sexagenary cycle, the King of Holland sent the man-of-war Balenbang (?) to the port of Nagasaki. The Commander of the vessel Captain Koop presented a letter from his sovereign. This being the transmission of most friendly suggestions was of no small advantage to us. As a result of this the idea that an exigency had arisen in which a Navy must be created dawned upon the minds of

the people and became in large degree the cause of the political Changes of succeeding years." *Kaigun Rekishi Vol. I. leaf of 2nd page.*

We know, too, that in spite of the precautions taken to keep such matters from non-official ears, some of the most secret affairs of the Shōgun's Government did leak out and gain currency among those interested in Western civilisation. For example, one of the secretaries of what might be called the "Privy Council of the Shōgun," at the time when the coming of the brig *Morrison* was first announced in Japan (1837) was in close and friendly relations with the Old Men's Club of which Miss Ballard told us in her interesting paper on Watanabe Kwazan, (22) nearly two years ago. This Club was made up of such men as Watanabe Kwazan and Takano Chōei, the advanced liberals of that day. It was owing to the report which this secretary gave of the purpose of the Government to repulse all attempts to land the Japanese castaways which the *Morrison* was to bring, that Takano wrote his *Yume Monogatari*, or as we might say his "Dream." This book, which was a veiled but severe criticism of the Government's intolerance in pushing its policy of exclusion, cost the dreamer his life. This we learn from a life of Takano which I hope some day to translate and present to the Society; for it well deserves the attention of all interested in the beginnings of the new life in Japan. Though the policy these men represented was temporarily in abeyance, their influence remained, and their writings gained no little currency. Among them were many translations from Dutch literature, mostly on military and other technical matters, it is true; but intimations of Dutch thought on political matters were somehow disseminated. Even in the forties there were clubs for the study of the Dutch language in Hiroshima, Kyōto and Tōkyō and no doubt in other places also.

Takano found employment as an instructor in the Dutch language in all three of the places named. He also had charge

for a considerable time of a collection of Dutch books at Nagasaki belonging to one of the Kyūshū daimyos. After he incurred the displeasure of the Government of the Shōgun, he found refuge in Satsuma for a time and later at Uwajima. It is highly probable that he knew of this letter. If he did, he undoubtedly made use of its arguments. In this indirect but none the less effective way we may be reasonably sure that King William did share to a degree worthy of wide recognition in preparing for the opening of Japan.

THE ORIGINAL DUTCH TEXT OF THE LETTER OF WILLIAM II. KING OF HOLLAND TO THE SHOGUN.[1]

Wij Willem de Tweede bij de Gratie Gods, Koning der Nederlanden, Prins van Oranje Nassau, Groot Hertog van Luxemburg, enz. schrijven dezen Onzen Koninklijken brief met een opregt gemoed aan onzen Vriend, den zeer Verhevenen,

1 The title page of the work from which this text is taken is as below. It is preserved in the Royal Archives at the Hague, but it said to be out of print and not easily accessible, though it should be found in the great libraries of Europe.

Neerland Streven
tot
Openstelling van Japan
voor
Den Wereldhandel
Uit Officieele, Grootendeels
Onuitgegeven Bescheiden
Toegelicht
Door
Mr. J. A. Van Der Chijs Phil. Theor. Mag. Lit. Hum. Doct.,
Inspecteur voor Het Inlandsch Onderwijs
Met Vijf Bijlagen,
Behelzende Eene Geschiedenis Van het Nederlandsch Marine-Detachement in Japan, enz. enz.
Uitgegeven Door Het Koninglijk Instituut Voor De Taal Land-En Volkenkunde Van Nederlandsch Indie.
Te Amsterdam, bij
Frederik Muller 1867.

zeer Doorluchtigen, Grootmagtigen Beheerscher van het groote rijk Japan, die zijnen zetel houdt in het Keizerlijke Paleis te Jedo, het verblijf des Vredes.

Moge dit geschrift behoorlijk worden overgeleverd in de handen van Onzen vorstelijken vriend, en Hem aantreffen in het bezit van gezondheid en tevredenheid.

"Voor meer dan twee eeuwen is door Uwer Majesteits Doorluchtigen Voorzaat, den beroemden *Gongen Ijejas* aan de Nederlanders, by Keizerlyk Bevelschrift toegestaan met hunne schepen ten handel naar Japan te komen; en uit kracht van dat zelfde Keizerlyke Bevelschrift worden de Nederlanders, Onze onderdanen, nog heden met alle vriendelykheid in Japan ontvangen en behandeld, en is bovendien aan de Opperhoofden van dien handel de uitstekende eer gegund van, op bepaalde tyden, in persoon Uwe Majesteit hunne hulde aan te bieden."

"Deze onwankelbare toegenenheid, aan Onze onderdanen betoond, vervult Ons met welwillendheid jegens Japan en met den wensch, om al dat gene te doen, wat de rust van Uw Keizerlyk gebied en den voorspoed Uwer onderdanen bevorderen kan."

"Nimmer hebben de Vorsten van Nederland en Japan briefwisseling met elkander gehouden. Daarvoor bestond geene noodzakelykheid, want de zaken van den handel en de gewoone nieuwstydingen werden medegedeeld door de Hooge Regering, welke onder Ons opper-bestuur het bewind voert over Batavia en over alle de eilanden, die in *Asia* tot ons gebied behooren."

"Maar thans voelen Wy ons gedrongen, om dat stilzwygen af te breken. Er zyn thans mededeelingen te doen van hoog gewicht. Zy betreffen niet den handel Onzer onderdanen op Japan, maar de hooge staatsbelangen van het Keizerryk. Zy betreffen zaken, waardig om van Koning tot Koning te worden behandeld."

"Wy zyn vervuld met bezordheid voor de toekomst van

Japan. Mogt het ons gelukken die toekomst voor rampen te vrywaren door onzen goeden raad."

"Uit de berigten, die jaarlyks met de schepen Onzer onderdanen te Nagasaki worden aangebragt, zal aan Uwe Majesteit bekend geworden zyn, dat de Koning van England, in de laatste jaren, eenen hevigen oorlog tegen het Chinesche Keizerryk gevoerd heeft."

"De magtige Keizer van China heeft na langen, doch vruchteloozen tegenstand, in het einde voor de overmagt der Europesche krygskunde moeten bukken, en heeft by het daarop gesloten vredes-verdrag, voorwaarden bewilligd, waardoor de aloude Chinesche staatkunde aanmerkelyk is gewyzigd geworden, en waarby vyf havens van China zyn geopend voor den handel der Europeers.

"Toen, nu dertig jaren geleden, de oorlog eindigde welke Europa had geteisterd, begonnen al de volken zich over te geven aan de bedryven des vredes. De Koningen, indachtig aan de les der wyzen, openden voor hunne onderdanen alle wegen tot den handel. De volken groeiden aan in talrykheid. De ontdekkingen in de werktuigkunde en in de scheikunde maakten den handen arbeid in vele opzigten minder noodzakelyk."

"Handel en nyverheid namen overal ontzettend toe,—maar des niet te min ontstond in vele landen gebrek aan middelen van bestaan."

"Dit was vooral het geval in het magtige England, in weerwil van den rykdom, de bekwaamheid en den ondernemingsgeest van deszelfs inwoners. Rusteloos nieuwe uitwegen zoekende voor hunnen handel, geraken zy, in hun streven on die te vinden, soms met vreemde volken in twist. De Engelsche regering is dan door den drang der omstandigheden verpligt, om hare onderzaten met kracht by te staan en te beschermen."

"Op die wyze onstond de twist tusschen de Engelsche kooplieden en de Chinesche ambtenaren te Canton. Uit dien

twist werd oorlog geboren. Die oorlog was noodlottig voor China, want vele duizende Chinezen kwamen in denzelven om; vele steden werden ingenomen en verwoest; en vele milioenen schats werden als brandschatting opgebragt aan de overwinnaars."

"Soortgelyke rampen bedreigen thans het Japansche Ryk. Een bloot toeval kan aanleiding geven tot botsing. Het zwerven van allerlei schepen in de Japansche zeeen zal menigvuldiger dan vroeger worden, en hoe ligtelyk kan er twist ontstaan tusschen de manschap van die schepen en de ingezetenen van Uwer Majesteits staten!

"De gedachte dat uit zulk een twist oorlog kan ontstaan vervult Ons met bekommering. De Hooge wysheid, die Uwer Majesteits Regering kenschetst, zal, dit hopen Wy, die gevaren weten af te wenden."

"Die wysheid is reeds gebleken uit het bevelschrift, het welk op den 13 der maand *Hatsigwats* van het jaar 1842 door den Gouverneur van Nagasaki is voorgelezen aan het Nederlandsche Opperhoofd, by welk bevelschrift eene vriendelyke bejegening van vreemde schepen is gelast. Maar is dat bevelschrift voldoende?"

"Daarin word slechts gesproken van schepen die door orkanen of door gebrek op de Japansche kusten worden gedreven. Hoe zal gehandeld worden met schepen, die om andere redenen of met andere niet vyandige oogmerken, de kusten van Japan bezoeken?"

"Zoo deze met geweld of onvriendelykheid worden afgeweerd, zal er twist ontstaan,—twist sleept oorlog na zich,—en oorlog gaat gepaard met verwoesting."

"Deze rampen zyn het, die Wy zoo gaarne van Japan wilden afwenden. Wy wenschen dit, uit erkentelykheid voor de gastvryheid reeds meer dan twee honderd jaren door Onze onderdanen in Japan genoten."

"De wysgeer zegt: in veiligheid moet tegen het gevaar, by rust moet tegen de wanorde gezorgd worden."

"Wy hebben den gang der tyden met ernstige aandacht overwogen. Het verkeer tusschen de volken der aarde neemt met rassche schreden toe. Eene kracht, die onwederstaanbaar is, trekt dezelve tot elkander. Door de uitvinding der stoomschepen worden de afstanden verkleind. Een volk, dat by deze algemeene toenadering in afzondering zou willen blyven, zou met velen in vyandschap geraken."

"Het is Ons bekend, dat de Wetten, door de Doorluchtige Voorzaten van Uwe Majesteit gegeven, het verkeer met vreemde volken naauw bepalen. Maar (dus zegt *Lao Tseu*) wanneer de wysheid op den Troon zit, munt zy uit door het bewaren des vredes. Wanneer de oude wetten, by eene strenge handhaving, den vrede zouden storen, dan gebiedt de wysheid om die te verzachten."

"Dit, Grootmagtige Keizer, is dan ook Onze vriendschappelyke raad. Verzacht de wetten tegen de Vreemdelingen, opdat het gelukkig Japan niet door oorlogen worde verwoest."

"Wy geven Uwe Majesteit deze raad met zuivere bedoelingen, geheel vry van staatkundig eigenbelang."

"Wy hopen dat de Wysheid der Japansche regering haar zal doen inzien, dat de vrede alleen kan bewaard worden door vriendschappelyke betrekkingen, en dat deze alleen door den handel kunnen geboren worden."

"Mogt Uwe Majesteit verlangen omtrent deze voor Japan zoo gewigtige zaak nader te worden ingelicht, dan zyn Wy bereid om op een eigenhandig schryven van Uwe Majesteit iemand naar Japan te zenden, die Ons geheel vertrouwen bezit, en die Uwe Majesteit al de byzonderheden zal kunnen ontvouwen van hetgeen Wy in dezen brief slechts in groote trekken hebben beschreven."

"Terwyl Onze zorgen zich aldus uitstrekken tot het geluk en den Vrede van het ver gelegene Japan, gaan wy zelf onder de smart gebukt, want het heeft de Voorzienigheid behaagd om onlangs tot zich te roepen Onzen beminden Vader, Koning Willem de eerste, die zich vier jaren geleden reeds verwyderd

had van de zorgen des staats—bestuurs, welke Hy gedurende acht en twintig jaren had getorscht."

"Wy zyn overtuigd dat Uwe Majesteit deelen zal in Onze regtmatige droefheid"

"Wy zenden dezen brief af met een Onzer oorlogschepen, het welk Wy hopen, dat Ons een antwoord van Uwe Majesteit zal brengen. Op dat schip bevindt zich Onze beeltenis, die Wy Uwe Majesteit aanbieden als een blyk Onzer opregte toegenegenheid."

"Dat schip zal overbrengen eenige geschenken voor Uwe Majesteit, beschreven op de hier bygaande lyst. Zy zyn van geringe waarde, en bestaan in voortbrengselen van de Nyverheid, de Kunsten en de Wetenschappen, onder Onze bescherming in Nederland bloeijende."

"Voor de aan Onze getrouwe onderdanen by voortduring bewezen begunstiging brengen Wy Onzen dank toe. Wy bevelen dezelve verder in de bescherming der Japansche Regering."

"Aan Uwe Majesteit wenschen Wy toe, dat het Almagtig Opperwezen, hetwelk de Regering van Uwen Doorluchtigen Vader zoo lang heeft doen voortduren en gezegend zyn, ook dezelfde voorspoed aan Uwe Majesteit zal doen genieten."

"Zegen, rust en vrede geniete het groote Ryk Japan in lengte van tyd."

"Geschreven in Ons Koninklyk paleis te s'Gravenhage, den 15 den dag van Sprokkelmaand des jaars 1844, het vierde jaar van Onze Regering.

(Was Get.) Willem.

De Minister van Kolonien:

(Was Get.) (J. C. Baud. 1)

For the Japanese translation of this letter see Appendix A.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

We, William the Second by the Grace of God, King of the Netherlands, (1) Prince of Orange (2) and Nassau, (3) Grand Duke (4) of Luxemburg (5) etc., write this our Royal letter with a faithful heart to our Friend, the very noble, most serene, and allpowerful sovereign of the great Empire of Japan, who has his seat in the Imperial Palace of Yedo, the abode of peace.

May this epistle be duly delivered into the hands of our Imperial Friend and find him in good health and peace.

More than two centuries ago (6) by Imperial order of your Majesty's serene ancestor, the celebrated Gongen Ijejas, permission was granted to the Dutch to come with their trading ships to Japan; and in virtue of this Imperial order, the Dutch our subjects, are still received and treated with all kindness in Japan, and moreover the leading men in that trade have been granted the honor of paying homage in person to Your Majesty (7).

This unfaltering goodwill exhibited towards our subjects fills us with kindly feelings towards Japan and the desire to do all that is possible for the furtherance of peace within Your Imperial Domain and for the prosperity of Your subjects.

There never has been any correspondence between the sovereigns of the Netherlands and Japan (8). There was no necessity, for commercial affairs and general news were communicated by the Government which under our control rules over Batavia (9) and all the Islands (10) belonging to our Dominion in Asia.

But now we feel drawn to terminate this silence. There are important matters worthy of communication. They do not concern the trade of our subjects with Japan, but the political interests of the Empire. They relate to matters worthy to be treated of between King and King.

The future of Japan causes us much anxiety. May we succeed in averting imminent disaster by our good counsel.

From the communications that our vessels bring from year

to year to Nagasaki, Your Majesty will have learnt that the King of England has lately been waging a violent war against the Chinese Empire.

The mighty Emperor of China after a long but fruitless resistance, was finally compelled to succumb to the superior power of European military tactics, and in the consequent treaty of peace, agreed to conditions by which the ancient Chinese policy has undergone great alteration, and whereby five Chinese ports have been opened to European trade (11).

When, thirty years ago, the war which had been waged in Europe, was terminated, all nations began to work for peace (12).

The Kings remembering the lesson of the wise opened to their subjects every channel for trade.

Populations were on the increase. The discoveries in machinery and physics (13) rendered manual labour less necessary.

Commerce and industry rapidly increased everywhere, but, nevertheless, there was in many countries, a lack of the necessities of life.

This was especially the case in mighty England, notwithstanding the wealth, the resources and the enterprising spirit of the inhabitants. Restlessly seeking new channels for their trade, in their efforts to do so, they sometimes came in conflict with foreign nations. The English Government by force of circumstances was then compelled to assist and protect its subjects by force.

In this way quarrels occurred between the English merchants and the Chinese officials at Canton. From that quarrel war arose. That war was fatal to China, for many thousand Chinese were killed, many cities were taken and devastated, many millions in treasure were yielded as indemnity to the conquerors.

Such disasters now threaten the Japanese Empire. A mere mischance might precipitate a conflict. The number of all sorts of vessels sailing the Japanese seas will be greater than

ever before, and how easily might a quarrel occur between the crews of those vessels and the inhabitants of Your Majesty's Dominion!

The thought that such quarrels may end in war fills us with solicitude. The wisdom that chacterises Your Majesty's Government will, we hope, know how to avert these dangers.

This wisdom was already evident in the mandate, (14) which was read by the Government of Nagasaki to the Netherlands Supreme Official on the thirteenth of the eighth month of the year 1842, ordering the kindly treatment of all foreign vessels. But is that mandate sufficient?

Only such vessels are mentioned, as are driven on to the Japanese coast by hurricane or lack of provisions. What will be done with vessels that come for other and friendly reasons to visit the Japanese coast?

Are these to be repulsed by force or unfriendly treatment? Will quarrels arise? Quarrels lead to war, and war leads to destruction. Those are the disasters which we wish to avert from Japan. It is our desire as a token of gratefulness for the hospitality enjoyed by our subjects for more than two hundred years. The philosopher says: "In security, we must guard against danger; in peace, against confusion."

We have watched the course of events with serious attention. The intercourse between the different nations of the earth is increasing with great rapidity. An irresistible power is drawing them together. Through the invention of steamships (15) distances have become shorter. A nation preferring to remain in isolation at this time of increasing relationships could not avoid hostility with many others.

We know that the laws of Your Majesty's serene Ancestors were issued with a view rigorously to restrict intercourse with foreign nations. But (says Lao Tseu) "when wisdom is seated on the throne, she will excel in maintaining peace" (16). When in the strict observance of old laws, peace might be disturbed, wisdom will succeed in smoothing difficulties.

This, Allpowerful Emperor, is our friendly advice, ameliorate the laws against the foreigners, lest happy Japan be destroyed by war. We give Your Majesty this advice with honest intentions, free from political self-interest.

We hope that wisdom will make the Japanese Government realise that peace can only be maintained through friendly relations, and that these are only created by commercial relations.

Should Your Majesty be desirous of receiving further information in this matter so important for Japan, then we shall be pleased, after receiving a letter from Your Majesty's own hand, to send an Envoy to Japan ; one who possesses our entire confidence, and who might be able to explain to Your Majesty all particulars which we have roughly outlined in this letter.

While we are anxious about the happiness and peace of far off Japan, we ourselves are weighed down with grief, for it has pleased providence to summon recently our beloved father, King William the First, (17) who had retired from the care of political affairs four years ago, after bearing their burden for twenty-eight years. We are convinced of Your Majesty's, sympathy in our lawful sonow.

We send this letter by one of our men-of-war, hoping that the same will bring an answer from Your Majesty. In that vessel is our portrait (18) which we wish to present to Your Majesty as a token of our sincere friendship. That vessel will also bring certain presents for Your Majesty as noted on the accompanying list. They are of little value and consist of reproductions of Industry, Art and Science, flourishing under our patronage in the Netherlands.

For the courtesy continually shown to our subjects, we offer You our thanks (19). We further commend them to the protection of the Japanese Government.

We wish Your Majesty, that the Almighty, who blessed Your serene Father with so long a reign, will permit Your Majesty to enjoy the same prosperity. May blessing, rest, and peace be granted to the great Empire of Japan for all time.

Given at our Royal Palace at The Hague the 15th day of February 1844 (20), in the fourth year of our reign.

(Signed) William.

The Minister of Colonies.

(Signed) J. C. Baud.

The Shōgun to whom this letter was addressed was Iyeyoshi, the eleventh of the Tokugawa dynasty. The reigning Emperor was Ninkō Tennō.

LIST OF PRESENTS ACCOMPANYING KING WILLIAM'S LETTER TO THE SHŌGUN.

Portrait of the King of Holland.
One pair of crystal (*suishō*) Candlesticks.
One fine (*jōhin*) Vase
Ten Lamps (*kwa-tō*).
Two Pistols.
One Carbine.
Books.
Maps.

The above list is posted in the Yūshū Kwan. Whether it is designed to be an exact reproduction of the list originally appended to the King's letter, there is no means of ascertaining, though the strong presumption is that it is essentially the same.

NOTES.

Among the following notes those included between quotation marks are translations of the comments interspersed here and there throughout the Japanese translation of King William's letter as found in the work of Mr. Watanabe Shūjiro, entitled *Sekai ni okeru Nihonjin.*

(1) "'Prince' is a personal title."

(2) "'Orange' is the name of a place in France."

(3) "'Nassau' is the name of a place in Germany."

(4) "'Grand Duke' is a title of rank."

(5) "'Luxemburg' is the name of a place in Holland."

(6) "The first Dutch ships came to Japan in the fifth year of Keichō (A. D. 1600) and the permission to trade was handed down in the fourteenth year of the same period (A. D. 1609). Hence the period of tradal intercourse had extended over 236 years." (In this computation, in accordance with the prevailing custom in Japan, both the initial year and the final year of the period are included).

(7) "In olden times the 'Capitain' went to Yedo to pay homage every year, but from the second year of Kwansei (A. D. 1790) such visits were made every fifth year. The term 'appointed times' in the text (of the Japanese version) refers to the practice of recent years" (In the original text, however, the term 'appointed times' does not occur. The phraseology is quite as applicable to the old as to the more recent practice).

(8) "To say there had never been any correspondence been the two countries was a mistake; for on the 25th day of the seventh month of Keichō (1609) and in the tenth month of the seventeenth year of the same period replies had been dispatched from the Divine Ancestor (Iyeyasu) to Holland; but owing to the fact that Holland had enjoyed but few days of peace, there had been no record of letters received."

There certainly was a slip here as the Japanese translator pointed out; but he was at fault in the reason he gave, for a record of the former of the two "replies" does exist. Hildreth in his "Japan as it was and is," quoting from Purchas (Vol. i. p. 406), gives a translation of this letter from Iyeyasu, ("Japan as it was and is," by Richard Hildreth, author of "History of the United States," etc.; Boston, Phillips, Sampson and Company, 1855, page 144 forward).

This letter of Iyeyasu was forwarded to Holland by the Dutch vessel, the *Red Lion*, which left Holland with the fleet of Verhoeven, December 12th, 1607, which comprised thirteen ships, 1,900 men and 372 pieces of artillery. After various vicissitudes the flect reached Johore on the peninsula of Malacca, and from there the *Red Lion* and the yacht *Griffon* were sent to Japan. They reached the port of Hirado in July, 1609. It was apparently as an immediate result of this visit that the order permitting trade was secured (see note (6)). The *Red Lion* arrived in the Texel on her return voyage in July, 1610.

The letter as given by Hildreth, reproduced from Purchas, was as follows :—

THE EMPEROR (?) OF JAPAN TO THE KING OF HOLLAND.

"I, Emperor and King of Japan, wish to the King of Holland (Prince of Orange) who hath sent from so far countries to visit me, greeting.

"I rejoice greatly in your writing and sending unto me, and wish that our countries were nearer the one to the other, whereby we might continue and increase the friendship begun betwixt us, through your presence, whom I imagine in earnest to see; in respect I am unknown unto Your Majesty and that your love towards me is manifested through your liberality in honoring me with four presents, whereof, though I had no need, yet coming in Your name, I received them in great worth and hold them in good esteem.

"And further, whereas the Hollanders, Your Majesty's subjects, desire to trade with their shipping in my country (which is of little value and small), and to traffic with my subjects, and desire to have their abiding near unto my court, whereby in person I might help and assist them, which can not be as now, through the inconvenience of the country; yet,

notwithstanding, I will not neglect, as already I have been, to be careful of them and to give in charge to all my governors and subjects that, in what places and havens, in what port soever, they shall show them all favour and friendships to their persons, ships and merchandise; wherein Your Majesty or your subjects need not to doubt or fear aught to the contrary. For they may come as freely as if they come into Your Majesty's own havens and countries, and so may remain in my country to trade. And the friendship begun between me and my subjects with you shall never be impaired on my behalf, but augmented and increased.

"I am partly ashamed that Your Majesty (whose name and renown through your valorous deeds is spread through the whole world) should cause your subjects to come from so far countries into a country so unfitting as this is, to visit me and to offer unto me such friendships as I have not deserved. But considering that your affection hath been the cause thereof, I could not but friendly entertain your subjects, and yield to their requests, whereof this shall serve for a testimony, that they in all places, countries, and islands, under mine obedience, may trade and traffic, and build houses serviceable and needful for their trade and merchandises, where they may trade without any hindrance at their pleasure, as well in time to come as for the present, so that no man shall do them any wrong. And I will defend and maintain them as my own subjects.

"I promise, likewise, that the persons whom I understand shall be left here, shall now and at all times be held as recommended unto me, and in all things to favour them whereby Your Majesty shall find us as your friends and neighbours.

"For other matters passed between me and Your Majesty's servants, which would be too long here to repeat, I refer myself to them."

Hildreth notices the fact that Purchas does not give the date of the letter nor the name of the translator. The date was as above.

An excellent translation of this document is furnished by Sir Ernest Satow in his edition of "The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan," based upon the text in Suganuma's *Hirado Bōekishi* (History of the [Dutch] Trade at Hiradō).

Since a comparison of the two translations will prove of no small interest, that furnished by Sir Ernest Satow is also given. It runs as follows:—

"The lord of Japan, Minamoto Iyeyasu, in reply to His Highness, the lord of Holland. On opening and reading the letter which has been sent from afar, it was as if I were close before your high countenance, and I am, moreover, exceedingly pleased with the four sorts of productions which you have presented to me.

"Of the commanders, under-officers and numerous soldiers of the fighting ships that have been sent by your honored country to foreign regions, some have arrived at the port of Matsura in my country. That there may be peace and a firm compact with my poor country is my earnest desire also. If the countries are alike animated, what objection is there to annual visits, although they are separated by a thousand, nay ten thousand leagues of sea and land? In my poor country we correct the wicked and make them good. Therefore, the merchant-visitors who cross the seas all dwell here in peace. You may send your honored country's sailors to my country, and ground to build houses on and the port to which the vessels shall come, shall be as your honored country chooses. Henceforth we will keep up the relation of neighbours. The rest I commit to the capitain to report verbally. The time is when the remaining heat of the autumn sky is severe. Take care of your health. In haste. 25th day of the 8th moon of the 14th year of Keichō, 46th year of the sexagenary cycle."

[Sir E. M. Satow's *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613, edited from Contemporary Records* by Sir Ernest M. Satow, K. C. M. G., etc., etc. London printed for the Hakluy to Society, M. DCCCC. page L.]

Of the license to trade Sir Ernest says: "It is not easy to give a close rendering of the license, of which a facsimile is given at the end of the English translation of Kaempfer's *History of Japan*, Vol., i, He assigns the date to 1611, but the Japanese date in the document corresponds to 1609. Perhaps the following is as near the original as it is possible to go:—

"Where a Dutch ship traverses the sea to Japan, whatever port it may arrive at, there shall be no difference. Henceforth, observing this, they may go and come, and there shall be no feeling of estrangement. Wherefore as above. 25th day of 7th moon of the 14th year of Keichō."

"To Chakusa Kurunheike," Ibid. page L. Sir Ernest understands the name to be that of Jacques Groenwegen.

(8) "Batavia is the capital city of Java (瓜哇島). In the fifth year of Genwa (A.D. 1619) Holland changed the name from Torajo (?) (苔剌城) to Batavia."

(10) "The Dutch seized and brought under their control a number of the islands of the (East) Indies. These are called the Dutch Islands of Asia."

(11) "The five places were, namely, Canton, Foochow, Ningpo, Amoy, and Shanghai."

(12) "About the period Kwansei (A.D. 1789-91), there was in France a man named Bonaparte who through quieting internal disorder made himself King. He sent out his troops in various directions and conquered many countries, so that Europe was thrown into confusion; but in the twelfth year of Bunkwa (A.D. 1815), the various Powers of Europe banded together, took Bonaparte prisoner, banished him to an island and made peace for several years. From that time to this is just thirty years."

(13) In the translation "physics" is rendered *Gōri no jutsu* 離合 and this is explained in a parenthesis as the science of studying the nature of all things by means of analysis and synthesis (離合).

(14) This document was as follows:—

"In an order issued in the eighth year of Bunsei (1825) it was strictly decreed that English ships coming into Japanese waters should be fired upon and driven away. Dutch ships also, since, although unlikely, it was possible they might touch at other places than Nagasaki, were warned in view of their similarity in appearance to other foreign vessels, to exercise great care in shaping their course, lest they meet with misfortune.

"In these days, however, through the never-to-be-forgotten desire [of His Majesty] to exercise benevolence toward all, it is decreed that even foreigners when, driven by stress of weather or other misfortune, they come to seek provisions, fuel, and water, shall henceforth not be driven away, but be accorded such supplies as they may need and only thereafter be required to sail away. Hence the Dutch may make their voyages in peace. This never-to-be-forgotten benevolence toward even foreigners should be thoroughly understood."

(15) "A steamship is a vessel in which, in addition to a water wheel, a steam tank is provided; by burning coal the water in the tank is turned into steam which causes the water wheel to revolve and thus makes it possible to move the vessel forward or backward at will, regardless of rain or wind. Such vessels were first made, it is said, in the fourth year of our Bunkwa" (A.D. 1807).

(16) "There appears to be no saying of Lao Tseu corresponding with this thought. It awaits further investigation."

(17) "William I. was born in the first year of Anei (A.D. 1772). In the tenth year of Bunkwa (A.D. 1813) he established the Kingdom of Holland and in the twelfth year of the same period he ascended the throne. In the eleventh year of Tempo (A.D. 1840) he abdicated in favour of the present King. He died in the fourteenth year of Tempo (A.D. 1843), after a reign of twenty-eight years; at the age of seventy-two."

(18) This portrait together with one of William III. is preserved in the Yūshūkwan at Kudan-zaka, Tōkyō.

(19) At this point there is a departure from the thought of the King on the part of the translator who describes the presents as "tribute." He makes the King say:—"Although they (the presents) are unworthy, I present them as tribute (献貢) in token of my thanks for the favour bestowed upon my subjects for many years."

(20) "Corresponding to the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month of the fourteenth year of Tempo.

Reply of the Shōgun's Government (Bakufu) to the Government of Holland.*

"In the seventh month † of the last year a letter from Your Excellencies' Sovereign dispatched by a Dutch vessel arrived at the port of Nagasaki in our province of Hizen. The chief magistrate of that port, Izawa, Mimasaka no Kami, on receipt thereof forwarded it to Yedo and it has been attentively read by our Lord.

"That Your Excellencies' Sovereign in view of the trade relations which have subsisted for the past two hundred years should from so great a distance take into consideration the interests of our country and offer suggestions was most certainly evidence of hearty good will. Moreover, our Lord gratefully appreciates and returns thanks for the various precious gifts which have been presented.

Although the suggestions offered are worthy of adoption, there are reasons why this can not be. When the founder of our dynasty entered upon his career, intercourse (*tsushin*) and trade (*tsushō*) with countries beyond the sea were in an unsettled condition. Later when the time came for determining with what countries intercourse (*tsūshin*) should be permitted, inter-

* For the Japanese text see Appendix B.

† According to Bramsen's Chronology the first day of the seventh month of the lunar year corresponding with 1844 fell on August 14th.

course (*tsūshin*) was limited to Korea and Loochoo, and trade (*tsūshō*) to Your Excellencies' country and China. Aside from these countries all intercourse (*kōtsū*) was entirely disallowed.

"If now it were desired to extend these limits, it would be in contravention of the ancestral law.

"Hence we communicate this decision to Your Excellencies and thus inform Your Excellencies' Sovereign. Although this may appear discourteous, such is the strictness of the ancestral law, that no other course is open to us.

"As regards the gifts presented, it is reasonable that they should be accepted. Moreover, since they are the expressions of good will and have been sent from so great a distance, if in addition [to rejecting the suggestions] the presents should be returned there would be a still greater discourtesy. Hence they are accepted.

"By means of certain presents of small merit we give expression to the hearty thanks [of our Lord]. A list of these presents is appended (22). It will be esteemed a favour if they are not declined. Now since the ancestral law has been once fixed, posterity must obey. Henceforth, pray cease correspondence. If not, although it should be attempted a second or a third time, communications can not be received. Pray do not be surprised at this. Letters from Your Excellencies also will have the same treatment and will receive no response.

"Nevertheless, the trade of Your Excellencies' country will remain unchanged. In this also the ancestral law will be carefully observed. Pray communicate this to Your Excellencies' Sovereign.

"Notwithstanding what we have stated, our Lord in no wise fails in respect toward Your Excellencies' Sovereign, but on the contrary deeply appreciates, his sincere loyalty. Hence we his officials make this announcement. We may have inadequately expressed Our Lord's real purpose, but we trust Your Excellencies will understand it.

"Kōkwa Second year (Ki-no-to mi). (1845)
Sixth month, First Day."

(Signed) The Gorōju of Japan:
Abe, Ise no Kami, Masahiro.
Makino, Bizen no Kami, Tadamasa.
Aoyama, Shimotsuke no Kami, Tadayoshi.
Toda, Yamashiro no Kami, Tadayoshi"

APPENDIX A.

THE JAPANESE TRANSLATION OF KING WILLIAM'S LETTER.

NOTE.—This translation is taken from Watanabe Shujiro's Valuable work *Sekai ni okeru Nihonjin*, but apart from certain unimportant variations, undoubtedly due to copyists' errors, it is identical with that contained in the life of Takano Nagahide prepared by Osada Kenjirō, and published at Mizusawa Iwate Prefecture in 1899 under the name of *Takano Nagahide Sensei Den*. The translation in Katsu Awa's *Kaigun Rekishi* would seem to be a more or less independent rendering.

和蘭國王書翰和解

鍵箱上書 〔天文方澁川六藏譯〕

此印封スル箱ニハ和蘭國ヨリ日本國帝征夷大將軍ヲ（サシ奉ルナリ）ニ呈スル書翰ノ鍵ヲ納ム、此ノ書翰ノコトヲ司ルベキ命ヲ受ル貴官ノミ開封シ給フベシ、

曆數千八百四十四年二月十九日（天保十四年癸卯十二月廿七日）

瓦剌汾法瓦（カラヘンハカ）（和蘭國都）ニ於テ記ス、

和蘭陀國王密議聽主事

ア、ゲ、ア、ケアンラヅバン名花押

〔文字讀得カラズ〕

鍵箱ノ封印和解

國王密議廳

書翰外箱上書和解

日本國帝殿下

和蘭國王

和蘭國王書翰

神德ニ倚賴スル和蘭國王兼阿朗月(ヒランヱ)佛耶察國(ナッソウ)獨逸國ノ地名ノ「プリンス」(自注リキュヒムブ爵名)魯吉瑟謨勃兒孤(ルグ)和蘭國ノ地名ノ「コロート、ヘルトフ」(爵井ルレム名)微爾列謨第二世謹デ江戸ノ政廳ニマシ〳〵テ德位最高ノ威武隆盛ナル大日本國君殿下ニ書ヲ奉ジテ微衷ヲ表ス冀クハ殿下觀覽ヲ給ヒテ安寧無爲ノ福ヲ享ケ給ハンコトヲ祈ル、

抑モ今ヲ距ル二百餘年前ニ世ニ譽高クマシマセシ烈祖權現家康ヨリ信牌ヲ賜リ慶長五庚子年和蘭國ノ船始メテ本邦ニ來リ、同十四年己酉七月廿五日神祖ヨリ御印ヲ賜リシ酉年ヨリ、今茲甲辰ニ至リ、二百三十六年(カヒタシ)ナリ、我國ノ人貴國ニ航シテ交易スル事ヲ許サレシヨリ、此方其待遇淺カラズ、甲比丹(カピタン)モ年ヲ期シテ殿下ニ謁見スルヲ許サルレリ、此ニ年ヲ期シテト云フハ蓋シ近代ノ事ヲ指シテ云フナリ、古ヘハ甲比丹ノ江府拜禮每年ナリ、寛政二庚戌年ヨリ五年目トナ聖恩ノ隆厚ナル實ニ感激ニ勝ヘズ、我モ亦信義ヲ以テ此ノ變替ナキ恩義ニ答ヘ奉リ、彌貴國ノ封內ヲシテ靜謐ニ庶民ヲシテ安全ナラシメント欲ス、然リト雖モ今ニ至ルマデ書ヲ奉ルベキ緊要ノ事ナク、且交易ノ事及ビ尋常ノ風說ハ拔答(バタヒヤ)非亞瓜哇島ノ府ナリ、元和巳未年和蘭國答剌城ヲ改テ拔答非亞ト云フ人全島ヲ奪ヒ、闍瓦(シヤワ)及ビ和蘭領亞細亞諸島和蘭國ノ人印度諸島ノ數島ヲ奪テ領スコレヲ和蘭領亞細亞諸島ト云フノ總督ヨリ告グ奉ルヲ以テ、兩國書ヲ通ズルアラザリシニ兩國書ヲ通ズル事ナシト云フハ誤リ也、慶長十四巳酉年七月廿五日同十七壬子十月神祖ヨリ和蘭國ヘノ御復書アリ、蓋シ和蘭歷代治平ノ日少キヲ以テ、文獻ノ徵スベキモノ無キニヨルノミ、今茲ニ觀望シ難キ一大事起レリ、素ヨリ兩國ノ交易ニ拘ハルニアラズ、貴國ノ政治ニ關係スル事ナルヲ以テ、未然ノ患ヲ憂

ヒ、始メテ殿下ニ書ヲ奉ズ、伏テ望ム、此ノ忠告ニ因リテ其未然ノ患ヲ免レ給ハンコトヲ、近年英吉利國王ヨリ支那國帝ニ對シ兵ヲ出シテ烈シク戰爭セシ本末ハ、我國ノ舶每年長崎ニ至リテ呈スル風說書ニテ知リ給フベシ、威武盛ナル支那國帝モ久シク戰ヒテ利アラズ、歐羅巴洲ノ兵學ニ長ゼルニ辟易シ、終ニ英吉利ト和親ヲ約セリ、是ヨリシテ支那國古來ノ政法甚ダ錯乱シ、海口五處ヲ開ヒテ歐羅巴人交易ノ地トナサシム五處ノ地方ハ即チ廣州、福州、寧波、厦門、上海ヲ云フ、其禍乱ノ原ヲ尋ヌルニ、今ヲ距ルコト三十年前歐羅巴ノ大乱治平セシ時寛政ノ頃ニ當リテ佛朗察國「ボナパルテ」ナルモノアリテ國ノ内乱ヲ攘ヒ、自立シテ王タリ、是ニ於テ兵ヲ諸方ニ出シテ諸國ヲ併呑シ、歐羅巴洲大ニ乱ル、文化十二乙亥年諸國相謀テ「ボナパルテ」ヲ擒ニシ流竄シ數年ノ兵乱治平セリ、乙亥ヨリ今甲年辰ニ至リ正ニ三十年ナリ諸民永ク治化ニ浴センコトヲ願フ、其時ニ當リテ古賢ノ教ヘヲ奉スル帝國ハ諸民ノ爲メニ多ク商賈ノ道ヲ開キテ民蕃殖セリ、然リシニヨリ器械ヲ造ル術及ビ合離ノ術萬物ヲ離合シテ其質ヲ究理スルノ術ヲ云フニ因リテ種々ノ奇巧ヲ發明シ、人力ヲ費サヾルノ貨物ヲ製スルヲ得シカバ、諸邦ニ商賈蔓延スルニ及デ國用乏キニ至ル、又中ニ就テ武威世ニ輝ケル英吉利ハ素ヨリ國力豐饒ニシテ民心巧智アリト雖モ、國用ノ乏シキハ特ニ甚ダシキ故、商賈ノ正路ニ據ラズシテ速ニ利潤ヲ得ント欲シ、或ハ外國ト爭論ヲ起シ、事勢已ムベカラザルヲ以テ、本國ヨリ力ヲ盡シ其爭論ヲ助クルニ至ル、是等ノ事ニヨリテ其商賈支那國ノ官吏ト廣東ニテ戰端ヲ開キ終ニ兵乱ヲ起セシナリ、支那國ニテハ戰甚ダ利ナク國人數千人戰死シ、且數府ヲ侵掠シ敗壞セラルヽノミナラズ、數百萬金ヲ出シ火攻ノ責ヲ

購フニ至レリ。貴國モ今亦此ノ如キ災害ニ罹リ給ハントス、凡ソ災害ハ倉卒ニ發スルモノナリ、今ヨリ日本海ニ異國船ノ漂ヒ浮ブコト古ヨリモ多ク成リ行キテ、是ガ爲メニ其船兵ト貴國ノ民ト忽チ爭端ヲ開テ、終ニハ兵乱ヲ起スニ至ラン、是ヲ熟察シテ深ク心ヲ痛マシム。殿下高明ノ見マシマセバ、必ズ此ノ災害ヲ避ルヿヲ知リ給フベシ、我モ安寧ノ策アランヿヲ望ム、殿下聰明ニマシマスヿハ歴代一千八百四十二年天保十三壬寅年ニアタル貴國ノ八月三十日長崎奉行ノ前ニテ甲必丹ニ讀聽カセシ令書ニ因リテ明カナリ令書ニ曰英國船日本ノ冲合ヘワタリ來ルノ時打拂方ノ儀オゴソカニ取計フニ付、其旨相心得不慮ノ過チ無之樣心掛ケ通船致スベキ旨、文政八年申渡置候所、當時何事モ御仁惠ヲ被施度ト雖有思召ニ付、外國ノ者ニテモ難風ニ逢ヒ漂流等ニテ食物薪水ヲ乞フ迄ニ渡リ來リ候ヲ、其事情ニカヽハリズ一圖ニ弓鐵砲等ヲ打放候テハ、外國ヘ對シ信義ヲ失ハレ候御處置ニ付、今ヨリ以後ハ異國人渡來候トモ、食物薪水等ヲ乞フ類ハ打拂ハズ、乞フ旨ニ任セ歸帆致サスベキ事ニ取計フ間、ヨッテハ和蘭人共ヘ心安ク通船イタスベク候、外國ノモノナリトモ箇樣ニマデ信義ヲ厚ク思召難有義ヲヨク〳〵申辨フベク候 其書中ニ異國船ヲ厚遇スベキヿヲ詳ニ載スルト雖モ、恐ラクハ猶未ダ盡サヾル所アラン歟、其主トスル所ノ意ハ難風ニアヒ、或ハ食物薪水ニ乏シクシテ貴國海濱ニ漂着スル船ノ處置ノミニアリキ、モシ信義ヲ表シ、或ハ他ノイハレアリテ貴國海濱ヲ訪フ船ヲ冒昧排擯シ給ハヾ必ズ爭端ヲ開カン、凡爭端ハ兵亂ヲ起シ、兵亂ハ國ノ荒廢ヲ招ク、二百餘年來我國ノ人貴國ニ留リ居ル恩惠ヲ謝シ奉ランガ爲ニ貴國ヲシテ此ノ災害ヲ免レシメント欲ス、古賢ノ言ニ曰ク災害無カランヿヲ欲セバ險危臨ムヿナカレ、安靜ヲ求メント欲セバ紛冗ヲ致スヿナカレ、謹ンデ古今ノ時勢ヲ通考スルニ天下ノ民ハ速ニ相親シ

ムモノニシテ、其勢ヲ能ク人力ノ防グ所ニアラズ、蒸氣船（蒸氣船ハ水車ニ蒸氣筒ヲ設ケ、石炭ヲ焼テ蒸氣筒中ノ水ヲ沸騰シ、其蒸氣ニヨリテ水車ヲ旋轉セシメ、風雨ニ拘ラズ自由ニ進退スル船ナリ、我文化四年丁卯年創造スト云フヲ創造セシヨリコノカタ、各國相距ル遠キモ尙ホ近キニ異ナラズ、斯ノ如ク互ニ好ミヲ通ズル時ニ當リ、獨リ國ヲ鎖シテ萬國ト相親マザルハ人ノ好ミスル所ニアラズ、貴國歷代ノ法ニ異國人ト交リヲ結ブヿヲ嚴禁シ給ヒシハ歐羅巴洲ニテ遍ク知ルトコロナリ、老子曰賢者位ニ在レバ特ニ平治ヲ保護ス（此意ニアタルベキ語老子ニ見ヘズ後考ナマツ）故ニ古法ヲ堅ク遵守シテ反テ乱ヲ釀サントセバ其弛ムルハ賢者ノ常經ノミ、是レ殿下ニ丁寧ニ忠告スル所ナリ今貴國ノ幸福ナル地ヲシテ兵乱ノ爲メニ荒廢セザラシメント欲セバ、異國人ヲ嚴禁スル法ヲ弛メ給フベシ、是素ヨリ誠意ニ出ル所ニシテ、我國ノ利ヲ謀ルニハアラズ、夫レ平和ハ懇ロニ好ミヲ通ズルニアリ、懇ニ好ミヲ通ズルハ交易ニ在リ、冀クハ叡智ヲ以テ熟計シ給ハンヿヲ、此忠告ヲ採用シ給ハント欲セバ殿下親筆ノ返翰ヲ給ハルベシ、然ラバ又腹心ノ臣ヲ奉ラン、此書ニハ概畧ヲ擧ル故ニ、詳ナルヿハ其使臣ニ問ヒ給フベシ、我ハ遠ク隔テタル貴國ノ幸福治安ヲ謀ルガ爲メニ甚ダ心ヲ痛マシム、之ニ加フルニ、在位二十八年ニシテ四年以前ニ讓位セシ我父微爾列（ウイルレム）謨第一世王モ遠行シテ悲哀ニ沈メリ（微爾列謨第一世ハ安永元壬辰年生レ、文化十癸酉年和蘭國ヲ興復シ、同十二乙亥年王位ニ封セラレ、天保十一年庚子年今王ニ位ヲ讓リ、同十四年癸卯卒、在位二十八年、壽七十二、）此等ノ事ヲ聞召シ給ハヾ、我ト憂勞ヲ同フシ給ハンヿ明ナリ、

此書ヲ奉ズルニ軍艦ヲ以テスルハ、殿下ノ返翰ヲ護シテ歸ランガ爲ナリ、又我肖像

ヲ呈シ奉ルハ至誠ナル信義ヲ顯ハサンガ爲メノミ、其餘別副ニ錄スル品ハ我邦內ニ盛ニ行ハルヽ學術ニヨリテ致ス所ナリ、不腆ト雖ドモ、我國ノ人年來恩ヲ受シヲ聊カ謝シ奉ランガ爲メニ獻貢ス、向來不易ノ恩惠ヲ希フノミ、世ニ譽レ高クマシマセシ父君ノ治世久シジ多福ヲ膺受シ給ヒシヲ眷顧セル神德ニヨリテ、殿下モ亦多福ヲ受ケ、大日本國永世疆リナキ天幸ヲ得テ靜謐敦睦ナランコヲ祝フ、

即位ヨリ四年、歷數千八百四十四年二月十五日天保十四年癸卯十二月廿七日ニアタル瓦剌汾法瓦和蘭國都ノ宮中ニ於テ書ス、

微爾列謨

テ、ミニストル、パンコロニアル外國ノ事ヲ主大臣ノ官

瑪陀

Appendix B.

The Japanese text of the Reply of the Ministers of the Shogun Iyeyoshi to the King of Holland.

幕府ヨリ荷蘭政府ニ答フル書

去歳七月貴國价船ヲシテ國王ノ書翰ヲ齎ラサシメ、我肥前ノ長崎港ニ到ル、崎尹伊澤美作守受ケテ之ヲ江戸府ニ達ス、我主親シク之ヲ讀ムニ、貴國王二百年來通商ノ故ヲ以テ、遙カニ我國ノ利病ヲ察スルアリテ、忠告セラルヽノ一事ハ、其言極メテ懇欵タリ、且ツ別ニ珍品若干種ヲ惠マレ、我主良用感荷ス、理宜シク布報スベシ、然レドモ今ハ然ル能ハザルモノアリ、我祖創業ノ際、海外諸邦ノ通信貿易ハ、固ト一定セル無シ、後通信ノ國通商ノ國ヲ議定スルニ及ンデ、通信ハ朝鮮琉球ニ限リ通商ハ貴國ト支那トニ限リ、此ノ外ハ則チ一切新タニ交通スルヲ許サヾルナリ、今ニシテ之ヲ布報セント欲セバ、則チ祖法ニ違フナリ、故ニ俾臣等此ノ意ヲ公等ニ達シテ、之ヲ國王ニ稟ス、事不恭ニ似タレドモ然カモ祖法ノ嚴ナルコト此ノ如シ、已ムヲ得ザル所以ナリ、請フ之ヲ諒セヨ、禮物ヲ惠マルヽニ至ツテハ亦タ得トス可キモノアリ、然シテ厚意ノ寓スル所、遐方送致セラル、倘シ幷ビニ返納セバ益々不恭ニ涉ラン、因ツテ今ハ之ヲ領受シ、薄晉ノ土宜數種以テ報謝ヲ表ス、具錄別ニ副フ、却クルコト勿クンバ幸甚ナリ、抑モ祖法一定シ、

嗣孫遵ハザル可カラズ、後來ノ往復ハ幸ヒニ停メラレヨ、或ハ其然ラズシテ再三ニ至ルト雖ドモ受クル能ハズ、幸ニ訝シトスル勿レ、公等ノ書翰ニ至ツテモ亦此レニ準シ報ヲセザルナリ、但シ貴國トノ通商ハ則チ舊約ニ遵ヒ替ユルナシ、亦是レ愼ンデ祖法ヲ守ルノミ、幸ニ之ヲ國王ニ稟セヨ、則チ爾云フト雖ドモ國王ノ忠誠ノ意ニ至ツテハ、則チ我主モ亦深ク感銘シ、敢ヘテ疎外セザルナリ、因テ今臣等ヲシテ具陳セシム、言意ヲ盡サズ千萬諒察セヨ、不備、

弘化二年乙己六月朔日

日本國老中

阿部伊勢守正弘 判

牧野備前守忠雅 判

青山下野守忠良 判

戸田山城守忠温 判

阿蘭陀國政府諸公閣下

APPENDIX C.

LETTER FROM THE SHŌGUN IYEYASU TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE PERIOD KEICHŌ, SEVENTH MONTH; TWENTY-FIFTH DAY.
(A. D. 1609 August.)

德川家康ヨリ荷蘭國王ニ答フル書

日本國主源家康　復二章　阿蘭國主　殿下一、遠傳二信書一、披而見レ之則如レ對二高顏一、殊投二贈四種之方物一、歡悅有レ餘、抑從二貴邦一遣二異域兵船一、大將裨將許多軍衆之內、到二本邦松浦津一、殊與二陋邦一可レ有二和睦堅盟一予所レ希也、兩國同レ志則縱雖二千萬里之海路一、年々往來、何有レ異哉、於二陋國一正二無道一令レ歸二有道一也、依レ之渡海商客安居必矣。貴邦眞如路數人遣二置本邦一、可レ被レ立二館舍之地一、著船之港、任二貴國意分一與レ之、自今以往、彌可レ修二隣交一者也、餘事付在二船主舌頭一、惟時秋天殘暑尤甚而已、自嗇不備。

慶長十四龍集己酉孟秋二十五日

家康
朱印

TRANSLATION OF DAZAI JUN'S ESSAY ON GAKUSEI (學政)

(EDUCATIONAL CONTROL.)

Gakusei is the control and the ordering of the art of Learning. The first thing in the world necessary in governing a state is man's ability (才). A man's ability comes from study (學問). Educational Control is to govern in such a way as to cause the people of the world to study, and to bring out their ability.

Men are by nature, either stupid, clever or foolish. Some men are clever without study; others, although they study, are not clever. But uneducated people with merely natural ability only know what to-day they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears. They know nothing of bye-gone world-wide events, and therefore as the extent of what they hear and see is limited, their knowledge is slight. And though they may know enough to take care of their own bodies and manage their own homes, they are often led astray with regard to what is right and wrong and become bewildered. When a man of scant knowledge is in power and attempts to carry on important affairs of state, he is, as it were, like a man who looks at the sky through a reed.

A person, in this country, who has read books and studied can know of foreign events, while there are some now living, who can tell of the happenings of ages more than ten million years ago. The advantage of study is to protect sacred know-

ledge, and to ponder on the gains and losses of peaceful and troublesome times, and to adapt this knowledge to the present.

When To, the founder of his dynasty (960 A.D.) said that well-read men ought to be Ministers of State, he spoke words worthy of an Emperor. Thus in the old days of the former kings, there were schools (學校) to encourage the Samurai and the people to study, in the provinces of the princes, (天子諸侯ノ國郡) and also in all the cities, (鄉), towns, (黨州), villages, (里) and other places. The children of the samurai and people entered the Shogaku (Lower School) at eight years of age. The Shogaku (小學) was the small school of one's native place. On entering this school the children learnt to write and count, and also learnt the Rokko (六甲) and Goho, (五方).

The Rokko is the ten stems (干) having the twelve branches, (支) such as Ko, Shi, Otsu, Chu,—(the signs for the sexagenary cycle). The Goho is what is known as the terms East, West, South, North and Centric. Writing is the art of writing, that is of learning how to write about things. To count is to count in numbers. The above things are what a child of eight or more, who studies, learns, as he gradually advances with age.

At present, children of over seven and eight gather at their teachers' place and are taught to write, to sing short songs, and to read the Imagawa Jo, the Tei Kin, the Shikimoku, the eight counts etc. (The Imagawa Jo and Tei Kin are guides to letter writing. The Shikimoku is a Code of Laws. The eight counts include multiplication and division.)

The Lower School (小學) system founded by Shukaian (朱晦籠) and called "The Ancient Teaching of the Lower School," is not the teaching of the lower schools, but judging by what is recorded in books, it was all suitable for grown up people to study. For instance a youth would enter the High School at fifteen and learn the rules of Etiquette (禮) and the Music (樂) of the Former Kings, and also the rules of Etiquette necessary for admission to Court when becoming a samurai or great man.

Those in the higher school showing ability and ripened faculties were moved to the Kyo Gaku (the City school).

A Kyo or City (鄉) is a place where there are people assembled together in 12500 houses. The combination of families is five houses to a neighborhood (鄰); five neighbourhoods to a village, (里) hence a village is twenty-five families. Four villages make one Zoku (族). A Zoku is a combination of one hundred families. Five Zoku make one To (黨). A To is five hundred families. Five To make a Shiu (州). A Shiu is 2500 houses. Five Shiu make a Kyo (鄉). A Kyo is 12500 families. Among these, there are large and small jurisdictions; so in governing these places there are high and low officials, hence the five divisions Kyo, Shiu, To, Zoku and Ri.

The Kyo Gaku is the one school in the Kyo. The students in the Kyo Gaku are supported by the Prince of the Province (侯). Hence if there is a ripe scholar in the Kyo Gaku he is moved to the Provincial Lower School (其國ノ小學). The different princes' (侯) schools are called Provincial schools in contrast to the Emperor's School which is called the High School. The above mentioned High School and the Lower Schools are great and small in name. This explains the calling of High School and Lower School as honourable and lowly. For example, ripe students in the Lower Schools may be chosen out and advanced from the Provincial Schools and given over to the Emperor and placed in the High School of the Capital (京都). These are called Tribute Samurai or Presented Samurai. In choosing a person of a city or town for his virtue, skill and talent, he was tested by the City rules of Etiquette for Sake drinking and shooting. This has already been explained (in another essay).

As learning was abolished during the Chin Dynasty (秦 221 B C.) it is not necessary to speak of that period, though from the time of the Kan Dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.) during the time of the six Emperors of the North and South, learning flourished.

From the time of establishing prefectures, Gun (郡) and Ken (縣), educational control differed from that of the three preceding dynasties. The Etiquette of City Wine Drinking and City Shooting was abolished and from these places sagacious knights alone were advanced But from the time of Kan to the dynasty of Zui (隨 250 A.D.) there was no literary examination because the old practice continued. From the To (唐) dynasty the practice of verse making commenced and thus began the testing of ability. After this there was a great change in the world.

Man has generally a special talent for verse making and this has nothing to do with his knowledge, ignorance, skill or stupidity. Versifying is an art, and though one able to write verses is an instrument of the State, it is not of importance in governing the world peacefully. But the use of it as one way of testing man's ability, differed from the ancient method. As a man's knowledge comes from reading, there are accordingly many clever persons among those who have learned to versify. Then why should this art be abolished? In the Middle Kingdom it was the general custom from ancient times until now, that persons should be advanced through ability and art. And as even the children of the masses were able to obtain rank and salaries, and advance to wealth and honour, therefore all alike strove to learn.

In foreign countries (China) it is not only followers of Confucius who are chosen as men of ability. There are regulations for examining all in the different arts and in Military Learning and the Laws of Warfare. Those who excel are called out and used by the State. Those who pass examinations and are chosen, are called Kiutei (及第) graduates. (3 highest grades of learning in the Chinese Empire, *vide* Williams).

Thus it was that the people of the world being able to do the work they liked, used to wish to become graduates.

In Japan too, during the Kuge (公家) (Court Noble) period, learning was made use of. Accordingly there was the

law of graduates and there were likewise a great many scholars.

From the time of the Bukei (武家) (Military) period, learning was abolished and all people thought it impossible except for priests. Was not this a state of affairs to be regretted?

When we arrive at this present decade we find that through the enlightened virtues of the late (Shogun) Toshogu, the samurai and great men had learning, and in the upper circles, from the Kuge and the Provincial Princes, and in the Lower, down to the very people it had become the fashion to honour and believe in the Confucian doctrine. It was through (the Shogun) Kembyo honouring Confucianism, that many lowly people were advanced through Confucian learning, while the samurai and great men and heads of hereditary wealthy houses made it their duty to read books. For five hundred years, from the beginning of the Military Period, Learning had never flourished to such an extent. But it was a sad thing that before a government for the encouragement of Learning could be established, Kembyo died.

The two reigns of (the Shoguns) Bunbyo and Shobyo (posthumous names) lasted but a short time and Confucian Learning was not advanced. For a time the civilizing changes slackened, but during the Kyoko period, (1716-1730) the State once more encouraged Learning. The arts of war and letters were advanced not a little, and at that time within the seas (in Japan) civilization advanced beyond what it was in the ormer reign.

What we personally pray is that we may consider the ancients, and that by establishing Educational Control we may thus truly spread out the root of peaceful change and government so that there may be no limit to the chance of bringing out man's ability.

From the times of the Genroku period, (1688-1704) a great many scholars have been taken from among the humble

and lowly, and given incomes and have mixed with the samurai of the Court. But they have gone no further than being entrusted with the literary work of secretaries. None are entrusted with governing. Those who become officials are all from the houses of samurai and great men with inherited incomes. In the Hitsumei of the Shosho it is said, "Of the houses with inherited incomes very few are guided by the rules of Etiquette."

Families with inherited incomes are satiated with food and over-heated by clothing and know nothing about learning and have no knowledge of humanity; and being ignorant concerning the treatment of the gains and losses of government, they are like drunken men, or just like a doctor who tries to cure a disease by his own knowledge without reading medical works or learning the ancient methods. So, what can be the result of this but many mistakes? Therefore, should we wish at the present time to uplift the art of learning, there could be no better way of so doing than by inducing the samurai and the great men with incomes to study. They can not be induced to learn by merely having a command issued for them to study. However, if there be an order of this sort issued or not, certainly those knights and great men who love learning and have ability and virtue, should be generously rewarded. Their rewards ought to be either by the bestowal of rank, gold, or silver, or by the increase of incomes or the gift of houses and lands; or by taking a person from the guards and giving him promotion or moving him to a better appointment according to his quality. It is human to consider the reward in work. If it is seen that the Government rewards learning, those who cannot attain to those rewards will be envious, and a man who has no learning himself will induce his children and grandchildren to study. It will not be necessary to follow the ancient method and build schools to cause men to study. Provided that people are rewarded if they learn, the lower classes are sure to study zealously. This then is one form of Educational Control.

And again, as it is human, it goes without saying that the samurai and great men and also the princes of 10,000 koku and more will wish to be employed in the highest places, so that if it is certain that educated persons will be chosen to fill large and small offices, there will be no need of issuing orders to make people study. This is natural logic.

To take from the guards is to take from the rank and file of the guards. To move in office is to change official work. So it is that from ancient times people with virtue have been advanced in rank. To increase the incomes of those having merit is the ordinary way. As people who love scholarship possess a kind of virtue, those who are rewarded ought generally to be raised in rank. To raise in rank is to raise from the 6th rank to the 5th rank and from the 5th rank to the 4th rank, and so on.

In the art of learning, Confucianism of course ranks first, then comes military learning. Military learning (武學) is the teaching of the "Military Laws" and "Armies" of (the Chinese Authors) Son and Go (孫吳).

In addition to these, there are a great many literary and military arts and accomplishments. Literature includes the ability to write poetry, and the rules of astronomy, almanacks, medicine, divination, penmanship, drawing, arithmetic, music and Japanese songs. A person who has read the old books of this country and grasped an understanding of historic facts has done so through literature. The art of war includes shooting, riding, fencing; the use of the fowling piece, spear and staff; boxing, swimming, veterinary knowledge, hawking, and so forth. Moreover there are people who have learned the different handicrafts and also some who are skilled in the kitchen and in the preparation of food. Or again there are those who are fond of the tea ceremony, and those who plant flowers and who breed birds or beasts, and those who are skilled in the divers small manufactures and arts. There is not one of these but is of use to the State. These arts and accom-

plishments need not be limited to one house. Capable examiners should be chosen and examinations held. From the great and small, honourable and lowly according to their position, the samurai and people should be called out and made use of, and salaries given them, and they should be kept during their lives. With regard to the children of these people, if they are not equal to succeeding to the work of their parents they should be returned to their original position in life. This is what is done in foreign countries (China).

In Japan most of the scholars and members of different trades and arts are connections of houses which have specialized in them for ages. And when these people are servants of the State (Shogunate) they have inherited incomes. The arts and accomplishments thus gradually become inferior, and the number of capable persons becomes very small. At times these people do not like their work, and samurai never learn the arts and accomplishments. This is the error of having the specialist who inherits his work. Specialists are the members of an established house which has passed down its handicraft for generations.

Man's ability is either much or little; much when a person acquires knowledge and is clever, little when he does not acquire knowledge and is stupid. Again in learning accomplishments and arts, there are some which are liked and some which are disliked, and even though one is ordered by father and brothers or commanded (督責) by the Government, it will be impossible to advance in that which the heart does not care for. Anything one likes, one will make daily advance in, and learn without waiting for orders from father or brothers, or commands from the Government, and acquire it quickly and thus become clever. Amongst people there are those with much or little ability; some who without trouble become clever; others who try hard and yet never attain cleverness. Therefore a person's accomplishment or art is that which he likes and which, after considering whether he has or has not

ability, he decides on; and so he studies that for which he has ability. This is the way to become perfect. But it is difficult to judge oneself whether one has much or little ability. One ought to study a thing one likes and if in examining the results one finds that something that one thought difficult at first becomes gradually easier, it is a proof one has ability for it.

But if something one thinks easy at first becomes difficult and impossible of execution this shows one has no ability for it. Ability or lack of ability in a thing is shewn after a trial study has been made. Then as shewn above, if it is difficult for one to judge of even one's own ability or the reverse, of course it is much more difficult for some one to judge of the ability of another. Therefore if the Government should persuade the samurai to learn accomplishments and arts, it would be best to have them learn that which they like and for which they have the most ability.

At present the Government controls the samurai of the Guards in these two particulars, archery and riding, but there are some in the Guards who like and others who do not like archery and riding. Again amongst those who like archery and riding there are some with more, and some with less ability, some who do well and some who do badly. Some who dislike archery and riding are partial to study, and the arts and accomplishments of writing, drawing, etc., or who like other military accomplishments or some of the other numerous kinds of handicrafts. Having these likes, and wishing to learn these arts, but being controlled in archery and riding, they have to waste their minds on these things, and therefore have no time in which to learn what they prefer. If one does not like archery and riding, and if after daily study what is learnt is not retained by the memory, no result is attained and years and months pass without one's becoming clever. This is the result of not bringing out a man's ability.

What I personally desire is that the universal compulsory learning of archery and riding be abolished, that even in the

Guards a man should be left to what he likes, in learning Confucianism and literary and military arts and accomplishments.

If the Confucian official's son has ability for military accomplishments, let him learn them. Should a doctor's son be partial to Confucianism, let him stand in the ranks of Confucian samurai. No matter what the profession of the house is, let him do that which he prefers. If people are caused to learn that for which they have ability the court will be full of able men. But in using man's ability this must be done irrespective of his rank or quality. For penmanship let any clever writer be called; for drawing call any good artist to draw. If he is rewarded after he has finished even if he does not come from an artist's house, he need not be ashamed should he draw well. This is the way to make use of man's ability. From ancient times until now this is how man's ability has been made use of. In the Middle Kingdom, Jun-u-i of the Kan dynasty was by order of the Treasury (大倉) made chief of the Rice Granaries, and Cho-chu-kei was made Governor of Chosho. Both of these men were famous doctors. Then there were Ogishi of Shin and Guseinan, Ruiko Ken, Oyojun, Shosuiro, and Ganchin Kei and others of To, all noble officials who being good penmen had the writing of the State intrusted to them. Soha was a general (將軍), but being a good penman he was often ordered to the Palace to take up paper and pen. Not only this, but in China no houses were established (there) simply for their arts and accomplishments, but whenever there was a man clever in any accomplishment he was called out and set to work. Thus there were many men of repute among the different accomplishments. Here in Japan it is a house concern and it is the custom that a person not belonging to a certain house shall not be made use of. Hence in that house there are none who become clever: just as the Kano house who make drawing their business were, with the exception of Motonobu, and Morinobu, all unskilful. The present students of Kano are so numerous that they might be measured by the bushel,

but they are a lot of shiftless fellows all of very inferior ability. There would be more likelihood of getting clever men by choosing and ordering ordinary people than by using these. The accomplishments, such as those of the Confucians and Doctors, are in just the same case as the pictures of the Kano house. Therefore there is the old law whereby the State used to sift these out once every ten years. By sifting we mean to separate sand by shaking. To pick out from the many those who are of no use to the State and cause them to retire, is sifting (沙汰). At present there are a very great many fellows whom one would like to sift. In the ancient times of the Genroku there were fellows of medical families who were sifted. This was good Government. These matters all pertain to Educational Control.

In the Middle Kingdom, for the examination of samurai for the arts and accomplishments, there was a regular course (Kwamoku) (科目). Kwa means a quality (品) and Moku a name (名). In the arts and accomplishments there are several qualities each bearing its own name. Taking the greater divisions there are Military Studies and Literary Studies, or in the smaller divisions in Literary Studies there are the Meikei (明經) Koji (宏辭) and other courses. Among Military Studies, come Strategy, Riding, Shooting, and such like courses; just as the different sages following the teachings o Confucius have the four courses of Virtue, Language, Government and Literature.

As man's accomplishments and abilities have several modes of application (器用), men are examined according to their ability by the different qualities (Kwa 科). This is the art of drawing out a man's ability. Should we now establish in our country the different courses in the arts of Literature and Arms, the samurai who comply with the courses could be examined, advanced and employed. The result would be samurai of all manner of abilities and accomplishments. But if they are only governed in relation to the accomplishments of the horse

and bow, their's will be but a narrow teaching. The need of Educational Control is simply to obtain as much as possible of man's ability, because man's ability is the instrument for State Government.

The saying in the Moshi (毛詩) that "Bunno was safe in the number of many samurai" is a poem signifying that the reason Bunno received the Kingship was through the strength of many samurai. Sai Sai (濟々) a figure (of speech) for many.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

By kind invitation of the British Ambassador, a general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the British Embassy at four o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, February 14th. H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald, President of the Society, said that the minutes of the last meeting had been already published and might be accepted without reading them. As there was no other business before the meeting, he at once introduced the lecturer, H.B.M.'s Consul-General, Mr. John Carey Hall, whose subject was "Japanese Feudal-Origins: The Hojo Code of Judicature." The paper was too long to read as a whole, hence Mr. Hall gave a fascinating epitome, with historical explanation, to show the origin, nature and purposes of the Hojo Code, and with aptly chosen extracts for illustration.

After the lecture, the President said he was sure that all were entertained and instructed by what Mr. Hall had said and that all were grateful for the lecture, which he thought was too short. These were clearly the thoughts of all present, for no one realised that a full half hour had been used up in the exposition.

Mr. Vickers, as Secretary, begged to usurp the place of the President for a moment to put in words what he was sure all present felt: namely, grateful appreciation of the kind hospitality of the British Ambassador and Lady MacDonald in entertaining the Society. This kindness was all the greater,

since, on the eve of the arrival of Prince Arthur on a special mission from England to Japan and in the midst of many preparations, it must cause great inconvenience to the Ambassador and Lady MacDonald.

The President replied that it was a pleasure to entertain the Society, and expressed regret that Lady MacDonald was unavoidably prevented from being present. He then declared the meeting adjourned, and invited all to partake of refreshments which would at once be served.

ARTHUR LLOYD,

Chairman.

A General meeting of the Society was held, Thursday March 8th at the residence of Dr. N. Gordon Munro, 91 Bluff, Yokohama. The Vice-President for Yokohama, John Carey Hall, Esq. presided.

In opening the meeting, the Chairman said it would be a work of supererogation on his part to introduce to a Yokohama audience a gentleman of such an established reputation as that of Dr. N. G. Munro. He was pleased to see such a large attendance. That would perhaps encourage the Society in future to hold meetings in Yokohama.

After Dr. Munro read his paper on "Primitive culture in Japan," The Chairman said that it might seem ungracious after listening to the exhaustive paper read by Dr. Munro to suggest that there were any omissions, but one had occurred to him. In enumerating the investigators in the field of research, Dr. Munro had given a complete list as far as foreigners were concerned, but the name occurred to him of a Japanese who had played a prominent part in the work, namely Mr. Kanda Kohei, who in 1870 was Governor of Hyogo Ken. Mr. Kanda in 1884 published a work on the stone age of Japan, and this was translated by his son, Baron Kanda Naibu, at present Professor

in the Peers' School. This work was illustrated by twenty-four plates giving a complete list of the stone implements, and in a prefatory note it was stated that for one hundred years before he wrote, Japanese investigators had been giving attention to the stone age.

Dr. Munro said he was glad that Mr. Hall had supplied the omission. Mr. Kanda certainly had a most complete collection of implements connected with the stone age, and he considered that gentleman deserved great credit for his contributions.

Dr. Dearing proposed a hearty vote of thanks for his interesting lecture and for his hospitality to the Society. The Chairman, in supporting the motion, said he was sure the meeting would willingly vote thanks to Dr. Munro for his able, instructive and interesting paper; that he hoped the meeting would be the precursor of many similar meetings; that the good attendance would gratify Dr. Munro and in some measure compensate him for the time, labor and cost of his research. Dr. Munro briefly acknowledged the vote of thanks, after which the members spent some time inspecting the interesting collection of implements, relics, etc. pertaining to the stone age.

ARTHUR LLOYD,
Chairman.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the British Embassy on Wednesday, May 23rd, at four o'clock. The Vice-President for Tokyo, Professor A. Lloyd, in opening the meeting, announced the regret of the President, H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald, at being unavoidably absent. The minutes of the last meeting, which had been held in Yokohama, were read and approved. There being no other business before the meeting, the Chairman at once introduced Mr. A. M. Tracey Woodward, who read his paper on Japanese Postage Stamps."

The author in a few prefatory remarks mentioned that Japanese literature on philately is practically nil; the only work coming under his notice is the "Dai Nihon Teikoku Yubin Kitte Enkakushi," a pamphlet issued by the Printing Bureau of the Department of Communications during March, 1896. This he consulted for official dates and other data.

After the lecture, the Chairman said he felt sure of expressing the sense of the meeting when he extended thanks to Mr. Woodward for his extremely interesting, laborious and painstaking paper. He then invited remarks from members. In reply to a question from Mr. Gubbins, the lecturer explained that the term "archaic" is used to designate the earliest, while the term "antique" applies to later types of stamps. Mr. Gubbins then called attention to a slight inaccuracy in the paper. The author spoke of two Imperial Princes serving in Formosa, whereas only Prince Kitashirakawa served there, while Prince Arisugawa served only in Manchuria. The author with thanks acknowledged the correction. Mr. Gubbins then said he wished to add his appreciation to that expressed by the Chairman for the excellent, accurate and terse descriptions of stamps—a thing which all must realize to be very difficult. In reply to a question of Professor Clement, the lecturer explained that philatelists have not set a relatively high value on the technique of Japanese postage stamps. The Chairman, again thanking the author for his paper, declared the meeting adjourned. The refreshments served towards the end of the lecture and the hospitality of the British Ambassador and Lady MacDonald in entertaining the Society were much appreciated by those present.

ARTHUR LLOYD,
Chairman.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the British Embassy on Wednesday, June 20th, at four

o'clock. The Honorary President, Sir Claude MacDonald, having sent a letter of regret that absence from the city made his attendance at the meeting impossible, the Vice-President for Tokyo, Professor Lloyd, took the Chair.

The Chairman said that the minutes of the last meeting had been published and so might be taken without reading. There being no other business before the meeting, he would at once call for the papers, of which there were two, to be read. The first paper was by Karel Jan Hora, Esq. entitled "Notes on Kamo Chōmei's Life and Work." As the author could not be present, the paper was read by Mr. E. H. Vickers.

At the conclusion of the reading of Mr. Hora's paper, the Chairman referred to the fact that a comparison has been made, in one of the earlier volumes of the Asiatic Society's Transactions, of Kamo Chōmei with Wordsworth. For himself, he did not think that comparison was a very good one. It is true that Wordsworth was a poet of nature, as was also Kamo; but Wordsworth was a careless writer whose exuberance of thought led him to verbosity, while Kamo, from the very fact of his being under the limitations of Japanese versification, was obliged to be curt, precise, and to compress his thoughts into the smallest limits. He (the Chairman) thought that a far better comparison might be established between Kamo and Tennyson. In both these poets would be found a great love of nature, and equally, in both of them, a compressed diction which showed great carefulness in composition.

Mr. Gubbins said that it was difficult to make any close comparison between Japanese and English poetry. So far as careful finish was concerned, a resemblance might certainly be traced between the poetry of Kamo Chōmei, and indeed all Japanese poetry, and the work of Tennyson. But if an analogy had to be established at all, he was inclined to think that the selection of Wordsworth, as being a poet of nature, for comparison with Chōmei was correct.

In reply to Mr. Gubbins' criticisms, the Chairman said that he had been thinking at the time of some remarks made by Professor Chamberlain in his article on Basho and the Japanese epigram, in which he pointed out how closely Tennyson came, in many of his minute word pictures, to the condensed beauties of the Japanese epigram.

Dr. Greene was greatly impressed by the fact that the author's works are specially difficult to translate. The figures of Kamo are extremely complicated and therefore difficult to render in English. Perhaps only a man like the late Lafcadio Hearn might do something near justice to Kamo in translation. The translation of such an eminent scholar as Mr. Aston and also those of Mr. Dixon seem to leave something to be desired.

Mr. Vickers stated that the author of the paper just read was evidently of Dr. Greene's view. He (the author) had, with doubt and hesitation, offered some specimens of translation by both Mr. Aston and Mr. Dixon from Chōmei which seemed unsatisfactory. With these, he gave the ideographic text and his own literal translation. But Mr. Jan Hora had specially asked the Council to omit this part of the paper, if the Council thought it better to do so—the view which was in fact taken by those members of Council who had the paper under special consideration.

Dr. Asakawa said that it would be interesting to compare Kamo Chōmei with Yoshida Kenkō, the author of the "Tsure-dzure-gusa," who flourished a century after Chōmei. Both forsook the world and became famous as Buddhist poets, so that they are often confused in the popular mind. They, however, lived in ages the conditions of which were vastly different, for in Chōmei's time the social structure was rapidly tending toward feudalism. And yet both ages were similar in that the ruling powers were, to all appearance, passing from bad to worse. Again, the Buddhism of Kenkō was perhaps largely influenced by the Zen tenets, the coming of which into Japan probably antedated Chōmei's "Hōjōki," and yet the

simple and severe Buddhism of the latter poet as against the more elaborate and mundane tendencies of the sects current in Kyoto suggested the need of a Zen sect and largely foreshadowed its prevalence in later times. Chōmei and Kenkō may be regarded as indices to times and thoughts at once in contrast and in sympathy with each other, and their lives are full of close parallels that never meet.

The Chairman said all would agree that a comparison such as Dr. Asakawa suggested between Kamo and Yoshida would be extremely interesting, and that it would be still more interesting, if it came from Dr. Asakawa's pen. They all hoped therefore that he might make it for the Society.

The Chairman himself then read the paper on "The Study of Korean from the Standpoint of a Student of Japanese," by A. H. Lay, Esq.

Mr. Lay's paper, which occupied about one half-hour in the reading, dealt with the points of similarity between the languages of Korea and Japan. These similarities the author finds: (1) In the identity of the word-order in the sentence, which shows that the processes of thought in Korean are identical with those in Japanese—a fact which makes the acquisition of Japanese easy to Koreans, and vice versa, that of Korean to Japanese. (2) In the similarity of inflectional methods, such as the formation of the plural by reduplication, or by the addition of some noun used to express number, as also in that peculiarity of Far-Eastern speech by which adjectives and adverbs are treated, not as independent parts of speech, but as sub-divisions of the verb.

In the actual Vocabularies of the two countries, the author did not find much resemblance, though there are a certain number of native words in each language which clearly betray a common origin. The number of such words, he thought, might be much increased by further research, but independently of the words of native origin, both languages possess a large stock of Chinese words which they use in com-

mon and with but slightly varying pronunciations. This common stock is being constantly increased by the introduction of new words, imported through Japan, and used to denote the many things which have recently come into existence in Korea as a consequence of the great extension of the Japanese influence in the Peninsula.

Mr. Gubbins said he thought that Mr. Lay's very interesting paper had, if he might say so, one rather grave defect. This was the insufficient stress laid on the difficulties of pronunciation which lay in the path of the student of the Korean language. There were certain vowel sounds the variations between which it was difficult for the foreign ear to follow, but in the correct pronunciation of these sounds by the foreigner lay all the difference between being understood or not. There were initial or aspirated consonants very troublesome and perplexing both to distinguish one from the other when heard and also to pronounce; and there was the great stumbling block created by the final consonant in Korean which was only half sounded. He had been assured by Koreans that the English language had no proper *final* consonant, and that to a Korean ear there was no difference between the pronunciation of the word "kick" in English and the word "kiku" in Japanese.

In the course of his paper, the author had alluded to the Chinese-Korean side of Korean and to the increasing use of dissyllabic words formed from Chinese. The immense growth of the Japanese language in the same direction was a fact familiar to them all, and in connection with this very important matter he had heard people interested in the subject say that, if Japan went to China for materials with which to form the words she needed to express the new ideas she had received during the last thirty years or more, she was doing no more than other countries had done, and were still doing, in borrowing from the Latin and Greek. He thought, however, that there was one great difference between the two processes. In the one case, the languages borrowed from were dead, and this

fact of itself tended, he thought, in some measure at least to diminish the scope of this borrowing. In the other case, the language to which recourse was had was a living language and that too of a neighboring country; and under these circumstances, not only could the same check not operate, but the tendency might be in the opposite direction. However this might be, there could be little doubt that in the present situation of Korea the introduction of new words of the class indicated would proceed more rapidly even than had been the case in Japan.

Mr. Isawa Shuji, was much impressed by the paper, especially by what the author said concerning the final consonants. A close study of old Japanese would impress us still more with the similarity between the two languages. For example, the final "p" of old Japanese is lost, but it survives in the Korean. Then the Japanese "f" sound appears as "p" in the Korean. Finally, the "m" and "n" sounds met in Korean are faithful distinctions which had existed also in the old Japanese.

Dr. Asakawa said that, concerning the resemblance of Korean and Japanese words, it is interesting to note that studies in Korean are being made for a serious purpose by critical scholars of the first rank, namely by Professors Miyazaki and Nakada, of the Literature College of the Imperial University of Tokyo. They are studying the Korean, Ainu and other languages, with a view to tracing, by means of philological analysis, the origin of early Japanese institutions among those of the neighboring races.

The Chairman, referring to Mr. Lay's remark that further search might bring to light many more resemblances between the vocabularies of the two languages, said that in his judgment the resemblance would be found, not between Korean and the educated Japanese of the capital, but between Korean and the ordinary dialect of the northern and north-western districts of Japan, which differed very widely from the standard language of Tokyo.

The Chairman said that they were grateful to Mr. Hora and Mr. Lay for their interesting papers; and that the Honorary Secretary, in thanking the authors, might especially tell them that much discussion was elicited by their papers, and that the meeting devoted to them had been one of the most interesting held in recent years.

The Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Vickers, asked permission to say that the Honorary President had sent from Karuizawa a letter to express regret at his inability to be present, that he (Mr. Vickers) felt sure of expressing the sentiment of all present when he added warm appreciation of the kindness of His Excellency and Lady MacDonald in to day extending to the Society the hospitality of the British Embassy —a cordial hospitality which the Society had this year several times enjoyed.

The Chairman declared the meeting adjourned, after which refreshments were served to those present.

ARTHUR LLOYD,
Chairman.

A General Meeting of the Society was held at the Society's rooms in the Methodist Publishing House Building. No. 1, Shichome, Ginza, on Wednesday, October 10th. In the absence of the President, the Vice-President for Tokyo, Professor A. Lloyd, occupied the Chair.

The Chairman announced that the minutes of the last meeting had already been published, and so they might be taken without reading. He then added a few words of welcome to the first meeting held in the new quarters of the Society. All would see that the new arrangements are a great improvement, and they should have a good effect in adding interest to the meetings and the work of the Society.

Professor Lloyd said that the paper which he had prepared for this meeting was based almost wholly on materials which

were published by Professor Inouye Tetsujiro in a book on Shushi Philosophy in Japan. Although he (the lecturer) might not frequently mention Professor Inouye, yet he wished to emphasize his extensive indebtedness to Professor Inouye, and he wished the audience to keep this fact in mind. Professor Lloyd said his paper was too long to read. It was impossible to make it sufficiently interesting by simply reading extracts from it. Hence he had made a summary of the paper. But he would not stick strictly to the summary; for even that would not make such a difficult subject interesting to the auditors. He would also illustrate and animate his lecture by reading some specially interesting and characteristic extracts. He then proceeded to lecture on the basis of his summary.

After the end of the lecture, Professors Vickers, Anisaki and Asakawa respectively added comments on points of the lecture which specially interested them. Then Dr. Greene said:

There were two points in Mr. Lloyd's interesting lecture, not to mention others, which in a special way attracted my attention, because they happened to touch upon certain fields into which my own observation has entered. The first was the suggestion that Yamazaki Anzan's type of Shintoism may have been moulded under the indirect influence of Christianity, or at least of certain Christian ideas which we may readily believe maintained their currency even after the expulsion of the missionaries.

This is a subject upon which one is bound to speak with much diffidence, because our knowledge of the religious life of China and Japan before the introduction of Christianity is too meagre to warrant the dogmatic assertion that this or that thought had in those days no place in the minds of men, or that there was not in the conception of man's relation to the Deity some germ from which the resemblances to Christianity which we find here and there may have naturally developed.

In an article on Tenrikyo which I read before this Society some years ago (see Trans. Vol. XXIII. p. 66) I referred to

the frequent use made of the term, "the Heavenly Parents," in speaking of the Deity. Now while I should not want to say that that conception of the Deity could not have had its origin in the purely native thought of China and Japan, it is difficult to believe that it would have gained its prominence and received the constant emphasis which Omiki, the founder of that sect, and her immediate followers gave to it, had there not been some indirect knowledge of Christianity. I refer especially to the founder and her immediate successors because there is no reason to believe that they came at any time under the direct influence of Christian teaching. Some of the later followers of Omiki did and they made large use of the current version of the New Testament.

Much the same might be said of the Remmon Kyokwai and of the Kurozumi sect of Shintoism, sects which have, so far as I am aware, no interdependence. Geographically speaking, they were originally somewhat widely separated. It certainly is reasonable to believe that some of the more striking ideas embodied in the Roman Catholic teaching of the seventeenth century had before these sects sprang up become wrought into the life of the people.

The other point was Mr. Lloyd's statement regarding the attempt of the Shogunate in its later years to fasten the Shushi doctrines even more securely upon the minds of the people, namely, that it tended to produce a reaction against that philosophy. Count Okuma in his interesting volume of reminiscences entitled *Sekijitsudan* lays great stress upon this as one of the causes of the unrest among the younger *Samurai* just prior to the Restoration. Through the Dutch at Nagasaki the more active minds among the *Samurai* of Saga had learned more or less of the freedom of thought accorded to the people of Western Europe and even knew something of the American Declaration of Independence. One gains the impression from Count Okuma's testimony that the revolt from the educational tyranny, the fruit of the orthodoxy of the

Shushi-ism of that day, was, possibly, the most powerful among the forces which destroyed not merely the Shogunate, but also the feudalism which it embodied.

Mr. Lloyd has wisely pointed out several other lines of investigation which promise important results. It is to be hoped that members of the Society may be stimulated by his valuable paper to study more minutely the life and teachings of some of these scholars who have contributed so much to the ethical thought of Japan.

I am sure I speak for the Society as I thank Mr. Lloyd most heartily for his most successful efforts to bring clearly before us the history of Shushi's philosophy in Japan.

ARTHUR LLOYD,
Chairman.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the Society's Rooms, 1 Shichome, Ginza, on Wednesday, November 14th, with Professor Lloyd, Vice-President for Tokyo, in the chair. The Chairman said that the minutes of the last meeting, having been already published, might stand without reading. He said that there was no special business before the meeting, but he would remind those present that at the next general meeting, in December, officers and members of council for the ensuing year would be elected. Council would in the meantime lay a list of names for those positions before members; but members might propose and vote for other names than those in the list prepared by Council.

The Chairman then said that two papers were before the meeting. The first is by Karel Jan Hora, Esq.—an exemplary new member who had already within the year given the Society another paper—entitled "Nameless Selections" of Kamo Chōmei. This paper will deeply interest many persons, especially students of Japanese literature and conditions during the thir-

teenth century. But it was not well suited to read before the Society. However, he would read some prefatory remarks which suggest the character of the paper.

After reading the extract, the Chairman said that members would in due time have an opportunity to read the whole paper in the Transactions. He added that he now had much pleasure in bringing the auditors from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, and would therefore call on Dr. Greene to read his paper. Dr. Greene's paper gives "Correspondence between William II. of Holland and the Shogun of Japan," with many notes which to us seem naïve and suggestive.

After the lecture ended, the Chairman said that all were deeply indebted to Dr. Greene for bringing before them this interesting historical document. As the paper was read, all must have been struck by certain thoughts. Especially striking was the difference between our knowledge of Japan and Japanese knowledge of us at that time. The Japanese knew us pretty well. For example, when von Siebold had an audience of the Shogun, the interpreters remarked on a difference between his language and the Dutch which they had heard from traders. Von Siebold explained to them that it was the difference between High Dutch and Low Dutch. Similarly, the Japanese had been quick to discern other Western characteristics, customs and things, and so had gained a fairly accurate and extensive knowledge of us. But we were densely ignorant about Japan and the Japanese. A stadtholder of Holland wrote to Iyeyasu as "Emperor" of Japan. The Dutch, after a long period of trade at Nagasaki and many trips to Yedo to pay homage to the Shōgun, remained ignorant, or professed ignorance, of the true status of the Shōgun. Likewise, the Spanish and the Portuguese, after much intercourse with Japan, all failed to get much clear knowledge about conditions in Japan. All this shows that Japanese, then as now, and in other things besides military science, are much ahead of us; that they know about us much more than we know about them.

The Chairman hoped that others might speak.

Mr. Vickers, after expressing warm appreciation of Dr. Greene's paper, begged permission of the Chairman to say that, to his mind, the ignorance of foreigners about Japan at the time in question did not seem so culpable and stupid in foreigners as might be inferred from the Chairman's remarks. The Dutch and other foreigners were open, frank, had no motive to conceal or evade truth when plied with questions about conditions and things at home. They would gain favor by giving information sought. Their knowledge, like their books, was freely open to the Japanese. Furthermore, they were only traders and were mainly, or exclusively, in contact with official classes of Japanese who had relatively greater motive and capacity to understand things other than trade. Nothing hindered and many things favored acquaintance by Japanese with foreign things and conditions. On the other hand, foreigners had less motive and less opportunity to learn anything about Japan. Aside from the difficulty of the written language, they had to do with a people who are, if not secretive, at least less communicative or less able to communicate information that foreigners would understand. Precisely subjects of the kind cited as an example of foreign ignorance—viz., matters concerning the Imperial House—would be the last that Japanese would discuss. Then, the foreign traders had to deal with officials and agents of the Government—a notably discreet class—who were under stern and minute orders. They dared not divulge anything, while all other classes were shut out from the opportunity to do so. Every question by foreigners, if not strictly concerning trade, was indiscreet. All intercourse with foreigners, except a limited trade through Nagasaki, was strictly and under severe penalties prohibited. Permissible trade was rigorously limited and controlled. It was intermediated by officials and agents of the Government, and their functions, powers and mode of procedure were prescribed in the most minute details. Every

conceivable precaution was used to prevent information concerning Japan, its Government and institutions from leaking through the single narrow channel of communication with the outside world that remained open. If any foreign trader sought to peep over this formidable barrier of obstacles against information—a barrier possible only for the government of a nation in closely guarded seclusion—a forfeiture of the much prized trading privileges might be the penalty. These facts and others which might be adduced throw a light on the situation which enables up to see that, if foreigners knew less of Japan than Japanese knew of foreign things, the fact is not wholly ascribable to greater stupidity of foreigners and is not so discreditable to them as might be inferred from the Chairman's remarks. Mr. Vickers said the purpose of his observations was simply to bring out this fact, and it was in no way to disparage or minimize the keen perceptions of the Japanese either then or now.

Professor Purvis wondered whether Dr. Greene could tell the special object of the King of Holland in writing this letter. The Dutch King seemed to think that England was a "naughty boy" across the water who needed watching. Did he hope to make an alliance with Japan for that purpose? Dr. Greene replied that the King of Holland probably had no such thought, that there was ground for him to fear that some strong Power might open Japan by force and then more or less monopolize her trade, that the voluntary and general opening by Japan of her doors would give the Powers an interest in keeping the doors of Japan open to all on equal terms, and that this would be the best way for a small country like Holland permanently to secure her share of Japanese trade.

The Chairman again thanked Dr. Greene for his interesting paper and declared the meeting adjourned.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 1, Shichome, Ginza, on Wednesday,

December 19th, at four o'clock. The Vice-President for Tokyo, Professor A. Lloyd, opened the meeting with the announcement that the minutes of the last meeting, having been already published, would be adopted without reading. He then called on the officers to read their reports for the closing year.

The Corresponding Secretary, Mr. E. H. Vickers, then read

THE REPORT OF COUNCIL.

During 1906, Council has held twelve meetings, and the general meetings of the Society have been seven. Nine papers have come before the General Meetings:—February 14th, "Japanese Feudal Origins: The Hojo Code of Judicature," by John Carey Hall, Esq.; March 8th, "Primitive Culture in Japan," by Dr. N. Gordon Munro; May 23rd, "The Postage Stamps of Japan," by A. M. Tracey Woodward, Esq.; June 20th, "Notes on Kamo Chōmei's Life and Works," by Karel Jan Hora, Esq.; and "The Study of Korean from the Standpoint of a Student of Japanese," by A. H. Lay, Esq.; October 10th, "The Historical Development of the Shushi Philosophy in Japan," by Professor A. Lloyd; November 14th, "Nameless Selections of Kamo Chōmei," by Karel Jan Hora, Esq.; and "Correspondence between William II of Holland and the Shōgun of Japan," by Dr. D. C. Greene; December 16th, "Translation of Dazai Jun's Essay on *Gakusei* (Educational Control)," by R. J. Kirby, Esq.

The publication of these nine papers, in four Parts, will constitute Volume XXXIV of the Transactions. Besides enriching the Transactions by adding these nine new papers, the Society has this year re-printed eight old numbers, of which the stock was exhausted: viz., Vol. III, Part 1; Vol. VIII, Part 4; Vol. IX, Parts 1, 2, 3; Vol. X, Supplement; Vol. XIV, Part 1; Vol. XVII, Part 2. In addition, the re-print of two more numbers has been authorized: viz., Vol. VIII, Part

3; Vol. X, Part 1. Furthermore, a new index has been made and included in the re-print of Vol. X, Supplement (*Kojiki*), while separate copies of the index are prepared for supplying them to those who may desire copies.

Besides the nine papers to be included in the current volume of Transactions, Council has already accepted two papers for the next volume, has a third paper in hand and still other papers in prospect. One paper offered to the Society during the year was rejected.

The Society was, by invitation, represented by Dr. W. E. Griffis and Benjamin Lyman, Esq. at the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Benjamin Franklin held by the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia April 17-20th of this year.

Council has, with expert advice, arranged a new system of books to keep accurate records concerning financial accounts, stock on hand and sales of Transactions, etc.

Resident members are aware that the Society recently moved into new quarters, where it now has adequate and suitable provision for care and use of its Library, for storing Transactions, for holding all meetings. Never before was the Society for all purposes so cheerfully, adequately and suitably housed.

During the year, three members have resigned: viz., H. E. Lloyd Griscom, Rev. A. Pieters and Rev. B. C. Haworth. Forty-one new names have been added to the list of members—thirty-four resident and seven non-resident members. Resident members newly elected are:—F. A. Shattuck, Esq., Rev. A. K. Reischauer, Miss Richardson, Professor O. M. W. Sprague, James Archer, Esq., Ralph Morris, Esq, T. Kawashima, Esq. Rev. J. M. McCaleb, Miss Forbes, Rev. W. J. Bishop, Professor M. Anesaki, J. N. Strong, Esq. The Hon. F. O. B. Lindley, R. H. Clive, Esq., C. J. Davidson, Esq,, Major R. Cheyne, Captain R. Steel, Captain W. G. Salmond, Captain P. North, Captain R. T. Toke, Dr. S. Gerald Gomes, Captain

John Leader, Miss Helen Hyde, H. E. Luke E. Wright, Miss Elise J. Blattner, Professor D. Posdnieff, Carroll Miller, Esq., George Brinkworth, Esq., Langdon Warner, Esq., Rev. H. B. Walton, Professor J. Lawrence, W. Medley, Esq., C. B. Bernard, Esq., G. R. Bedinger, Esq. Non-resident members elected this year are:—Right Rev. Bishop W. H. O'Connell, T. H. R. Shaw, Esq., Oscar Raphael, Esq., Rev. Leigh Layman, Mrs. A. E. Buck, Mrs. Sarah P. Rohde, G. Yoshioka, Esq.

Thus, both the work and the growth of the Society during this year show unusual vitality, facts which it pleases Council to report and must gratify members to learn.

REPORT OF HONORARY TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN, SESSION OF 1906.

	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
To Balance at Banks, December 15th, 1005		3,016.22	
To Entrance Fees (37)	185.00		
To Annual Subscriptions ...	608.10		
To Thirty Year Subscriptions .	216.32		
To Sale of Transactions	988.38		
To Interest	85.06	2,083.06	5,099.29
By Paid for Printing	1,517.07		
By Postage	174.65		
By Assistant Librarian	176.00		
By Expenses of Removal ...	32.99		
By New Account Books ...	18.15		
By Binding	31.70		
By Sundries (stationery, etc.)...	10.05		
By Caretaker	3.00		
By Insurance	75.00		
By Rent	207.50	2,246.09	
By Balance at Banks	2,843.20		
By Cash	10.00	2,853.20	5.099.29

Examined and found correct.

RICHARD J. KIRBY.
J. T. SWIFT.

Correct Copy,

Attest. J. McD. GARDINER.

Tokyo, December 8th, 1906.

The Chairman apologized to the meeting for not presenting a formal report as Librarian. Much of what he would have said had already appeared in the report of the Secretary for Council, and it did not seem that there was much left to speak about. The year had been one of hard work, for the task of moving the Library and Transactions had been a heavy one, and he could hardly say that the work was finished yet. He thought that now that the Society's books were housed in convenient and commodious quarters, it would be right and proper to give the Library a thorough overhauling, to weed judiciously and liberally, and to bring it up to date as a useful library of reference for students of Far Eastern questions. This he hoped would be accomplished before the end of another year. The Society should remember, also, that it was one of its functions to collect information as well as to publish it, and he suggested the compilation of an Asiatic Society's Scrap Book for which he asked the co-operation of the members. He had himself often come across papers and articles in magazines and papers, Japanese and foreign, which would be quite worth putting into a scrap-book and keeping for the use of students. He would be glad to receive such scraps and cuttings and would willingly undertake the formation of such a scrap-book.

The Society then balloted for Officers and Members of Council for next year. While tellers counted the ballots, the Chairman called on Mr. E. H. Vickers to read the paper prepared for the meeting by R. J. Kirby, Esq.—the author himself being absent.

The Chairman felt sure that they would all feel grateful to Mr. Kirby for preparing and to Mr. Vickers for reading the paper to which they had been listening. It had occurred to him while listening that the best possible commentary on Dazai's writings would be found in Japan of the Meiji Era, Dazai had protested strongly against the fetters imposed upon Japanese Society by the policy of the Government. Those fetters had been removed at the inauguration of the Meiji Era

and what Dazai had prophesied had come to pass. Freedom had caused activity, and there had been no lack of intelligent men for the service of the State.

Mr. Vickers said that, besides the remarks of the Chairman, several things suggested by this paper were worthy of speciel emphasis. Dazai's essay shows that a purely native leaven strongly worked to change the social and political order in Japan, before Perry came knocking at the door. Dazai, feebly yet unmistakably, uttered thoughts which others must have felt. He expressed discontent with an order, which, however useful at an earlier stage, had hardened into fetters on social progress and which especially made itself felt in abuses and injustices. He demanded for Japan also what was implied in the two leading watchwords of the French Revolution—watchwords which in fact sounded the death-knell of Feudalism and the old order in the West —: viz., liberty and equality, the "primal rights of man." Vague and cautious as may seem Dazai's utterances against that order and his demands for rights incompatible with it, we may, in view of the circumstances surrounding him, well marvel at his boldness and courage. The more we learn about Feudalism in Japan, the more we become impressed by its similarity in most essential features to Feudalism in the West. We know that the break-up of Feudalism and the dissolution of the guilds, which ended the old order in the West, followed from the growth of forces inherently germinated, forces which worked through freedom and equality to efficiency. So we are impressed, and we get a suggestive insight into the nature of social evolution, when we see another broad similarity between Japan and the West in the fact that in Japan also the ultimate and irresistible forces of revolution mainly originated from within. Finally, to those accustomed to think that the old order in Japan was mainly shaped by Chinese influence, it must be surprising to see Dazai repeatedly cite precedents in China to justify the changes which he sought in that same order.

Rev. Dr. Greene: This paper as both the President and Mr. Vickers most justly intimated throws no little light upon the movement which led up to what we call the "Restoration." It shows us that long before Perry's day there were those who clearly saw the weakness of the old regime as well as the means by which the life of the nation must be revived. The paper also helps us to understand that, while Perry and his treaty may properly enough be taken as marking an epoch in the history of Japan, they did not set in motion the really efficient forces which have created the new life.

Dazai pleaded strongly for liberty of thought and for the right of each man to follow the bent of his own mind in selecting the path to advancement. It is evident that he had disciples and thus represented a school of thought which attained to more or less influence upon the mind of his age. It is equally evident from what we know of the history of the Restoration period that these liberal thoughts were fostered by information regarding Western affairs which, as I have said on another occasion, filtered into Japan through Chinese and especially through Dutch channels.

When the time was ripe for the breaking up of Feudalism and the building up the modern political system, embodying these stimulating principles of liberty, so generally were they accepted that when the great Prince of Echizen, Shungaku, a relation of the Tokugawas, urged that, in reviving the direct rule of the Emperor, the Shogun should be constituted the hereditary prime minister of His Majesty, he found few to listen to his counsels. Heredity as a qualification for official position under the imperial rule was gone forever. The principles which Dazai so bravely proclaimed were formally accepted by the nation and they certainly, as the President had said, have proved to be the springs of the new life of Japan.

New Council.

The result of balloting, then announced, showed that only

eight (out of a necessary ten) candidates for council received a clear majority of all votes cast, that a ninth received just half of the votes cast, and that two gentlemen tied with the next highest number of votes cast. As no provision of the Constitution covers such a case, a motion was passed to the effect that the nine gentlemen receiving the highest number of votes be declared elected, and that a second ballot be taken on the two names that tied for tenth place. This was done. Officers and Members of Council so elected are:—President, H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald; Vice-President for Tokyo, J. McD. Gardiner, Esq.; Vice-President for Yokohama, John Carey Hall, Esq.; Corresponding Secretary, E. H. Vickers, Esq.; Recording Secretary for Tokyo, Professor E. W. Clement; Recording Secretary for Yokohama, Dr. J. L. Dearing; Treasurer, R. J. Kirby, Esq.; Librarian, Professor A. Lloyd. Members of Council: B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., Dr. D. C. Greene, J. H. Gubbins, Esq., R. S. Miller, Esq., Professor J. T. Swift, Rev. H. H. Guy, Rev. T. M. MacNair, Professor M. Anesaki, Rev. H. St. G. Tucker, Galen Fisher, Esq.

The Chairman, having announced the above result of balloting, declared the meeting adjourned.

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Revised December 14th 1903.

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ART. I. The Name of the Society shall be THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

ART. II. The object of the Society shall be to collect and publish information on subjects relating to Japan and other Asiatic Countries.

ART. III. Communications on other subjects may, within the discretion of the Council, be received by the Society, but shall not be published among the Papers forming the Transactions.

MEMBERSHIP.

ART. IV. The Society shall consist of Honorary and Ordinary Members.

ART. V. Honorary Members shall be admitted upon special grounds, to be determined in each case by the Council. They shall not be resident in Japan, and shall not pay an entrance fee or annual subscription.

[As amended in March, 1897.]

ART. VI. Ordinary Members shall pay, on their election, an entrance fee of Five *yen* and subscription for the current year. Those resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Five *yen*. Those not resident in Japan shall pay annual subscription of Three *yen*.

Any Member elected after June 30th shall not be required to pay the subscription for the year of his election unless he wishes to receive the Transactions of the past session of the Society.

Ordinary members resident in Japan may become life members :—

a. On election by paying the entrance fee and the sum of fifty *yen;*

b. At any time afterwards within a period of twenty years by paying the sum of fifty *yen,* less *yen* 2.50 for each year of membership;

c. After the expiration of twenty years on application to the Treasurer without further payment.

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a. On election by paying the entrance fee and the sum of thirty *yen;*

b. At any time afterwards within a period of twenty years by paying the sum of thirty *yen,* less *yen* 1.50 for each year of membership;

c. After the expiration of twenty years on application to the Treasurer without further payment.

Members hitherto resident in Japan who leave it with the intention of residing permanently abroad shall for the purpose of their subscriptions, or life-membership, be regarded as members not resident in Japan, provided the Treasurer is notified of their change of residence.

ART. VII. The Annual Subscription shall be payable in advance, on the 1st of January in each year.

Any Member failing to pay his subscription for the current year by the 30th of June shall be

reminded of his omission by the Treasurer. If his subscription still remains unpaid on the 31st of December of that year, he shall be considered to have resigned his Membership.

ART. VIII. Every Member shall be entitled to receive the publications of the Society during the period of his Membership.

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ART. IX. The Officers of the Society shall be:

A President.
Two Vice-Presidents.
A Corresponding Secretary.
Two Recording Secretaries.
A Treasurer.
A Librarian.

COUNCIL.

ART. X. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council composed of the Officers for the current year and ten ordinary Members.

MEETINGS.

ART. XI. General Meetings of the Society and Meetings of the Council shall be held as the Council shall have appointed and announced.

ART. XII. The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held in December, at which the Council shall present its Annual Report and the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, duly audited by two Members nominated by the President.

ART. XIII. Nine Members shall form a quorum at an Annual Meeting, and Five Members at a Council Meeting. At all Meetings of the Society and Council, in the absence of the President and

Vice-President, a Chairman shall be elected by the Meeting. The Chairman shall not have a vote unless there is an equality of votes.

ART. XIV. Visitors (including representatives of the Press) may be admitted to the General Meetings by Members of the Society, but shall not be permitted to address the Meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

ELECTIONS.

[As amended December 14th, 1903.]

ART. XV. All members of the Society shall be elected by the Council. They shall be proposed at one Meeting of the Council and balloted for at the next, one black ball in five to exclude; but the Council may, if they deem it advisable, propose and elect a member at one and the same Meeting; *provided*, that the name of the Candidate has been notified to the members of the Council at least two weeks beforehand. Their election shall be announced at the General Meeting following.

ART. XVI. The Officers and other Members of Council shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for one year.

ART. XVII. The Council shall fill up all Vacancies in its Membership which occur between Annual Meetings.

PUBLICATIONS.

ART. XVIII. The published Transactions of the Society shall contain:—(1) Such papers and notes read before the Society as the Council shall have selected, and an abstract of the discussion thereon: (2) The Minutes of the General Meetings;

(3) And at the end of each annual volume, the Report and Accounts presented to the last Annual Meeting, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society and a List of Members.

ART. XIX. Twenty-five separate copies of each published paper shall be placed at the disposal of the author and the same number shall be reserved by the Council to be disposad of as it sees fit.

ART. XX. The Council shall have power to distribute copies of the Transactions at its discretion.

ART. XXI. The Council shall have power to publish, in separate form, papers or documents which it considers of sufficient interest or importance.

ART. XXII. Papers accepted by the Council shall become the property of the Society and cannot be published anywhere without consent of the Council.

Acceptance of a paper for reading at a General Meeting of the Society does not bind the Society to its publication afterwards. But when the Council has decided not to publish any paper accepted for reading, that paper shall be restored to the author without any restriction as to its further use.

MAKING OF BY-LAWS.

ART. XXIII. The Council shall have power to make and amend By-Laws for its own and the Society's guidance, provided that these are not inconsistent with the Constitution; and a General Meeting, by a majority vote, may suspend the operation of any By-Law.

AMENDMENTS.

ART. XXIV. None of the foregoing Articles of the Consti-

tution can be amended except at a General Meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the Members present, and only if due netice of the proposed Amendment shall have been given at a previous General Meeting.

BY-LAWS.

GENERAL MEETINGS.

ART I. The Session of the Society shall coincide with the Calendar year, the Annual Meeting taking place in December.

ART. II. Ordinarily the Session shall consist of nine monthly General Meetings; but it may include a less or greater number when the Council finds reason for such a change.

ART. III. The place and time of Meeting shall be fixed by the Council, preference being given when the Meeting is held in Tōkyō, to 4 P.M. on the Second Wednesday of each month. The place of meeting may be in Yokohama when the occasion is favourable.

ART. IV. Timely notice of every General Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member resident in Tōkyō or Yokohama.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT GENERAL MEETINGS.

ART. V. The Order of Business at General Meetings shall be:—

(1) Action on Minutes of the last Meeting
(2) Communications from the Council;
(3) Miscellaneous Business;
(4) The Reading and Discussion of papers.

The above order shall be observed except when the Chairman shall rule otherwise.

At Annual Meetings the Order of Business shall include, in addition to the foregoing matters:—

(5) The Reading of the Council's Annual Report and Treasurer's account, and submission of these for the action of the Meeting upon them;

(6) The Election of Officers and Council as directed by Article XVI of the Constitution.

MEETINGS OF COUNCIL.

ART. VI. The Council shall appoint its own Meetings, preference as to time being given to 4 P.M. on the First Wednesday of each month.

ART. VII. Timely notice of every Council Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member of the Council, and shall contain a statement of any extraordinary business to be done.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT COUNCIL MEETINGS.

ART. VIII. The Order of Business at Council Meetings shall be:—

(1) Action upon the Minutes of last Meeting;

(2) *Reports* of the Corresponding Secretary,
of the Publication Committee,
of the Treasurer,
of the Librarian,
and of Special Committees;

(3) The Election of Members;

(4) The nomination of Candidates for Membership of the Society;

(5) Miscellaneous Business;

(6) Acceptance of papers to be read before the Society;

(7) Arrangement of the Business of the next General Meeting.

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

ART. IX. There shall be a Standing Committee entitled the Publication Committee and composed of the Secretaries, the Librarian, and any Members appointed by the Council. It shall ordinarily be presided over by the Corresponding Secretary.

It shall carry through the publication of the Transactions of the Society, and the re-issue of Parts out of print.

It shall report periodically to the Council and act under its authority.

It shall audit the accounts for printing the Transactions.

It shall not allow author's manuscripts or printer's proofs of these to go out of its custody for other than the Society's purposes.

DUTIES OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ART. X. The Corresponding Secretary shall :—

1. Conduct the Correspondence of the Society ;
2. Arrange for and issue notice of Council Meetings, and provide that all official business be brought duly and in order before each Meeting ;
3. Attend every Council Meeting or give notice to the Recording Secretary that he will be absent ;
4. Notify new officers and Members of Council of their appointment and send them each a copy of the By-Laws ;
5. Notify new Members of the Society of their election and send them copies of the Articles of Constitution and of the Library Catalogue ;

6. Unite with the Recording Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication all matter as defined in Article XVIII of the Constitution;
7. Act as Chairman of the Publication Committee, and take first charge of authors' manuscripts and proofs struck off for use at Meetings.

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

ART. XI. Of the Recording Secretaries, one shall reside in Tōkyō and one in Yokohama, each having ordinary duties only in connection with Meetings of the Society or its Council held in the place where he resides.

DUTIES OF RECORDING SECRETARY.

ART. XII. The Recording Secretary shall:—

1. Keep Minutes of General Meetings;
2. Make arrangements for General Meetings as instructed by the Council, and notify Members resident in Tōkyō and Yokohama;
3. Inform the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the election of new Members;
4. Attend every General Meeting of Council, or, in case of absence, depute the Corresponding Secretary or some other Member of Council to perform his duties and forward to him the Minute Book;
5. Act for the Corresponding Secretary in the latter's absence;
6. Act on the Publication Committee;
7. Assist in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication the

Minutes of the General Meeting and the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society;

8. Furnish abstracts of Proceedings at General Meetings to newspapers and public prints as directed by the Council.

DUTIES OF TREASURER.

ART. XIII. The Treasurer shall:

1. Take charge of the Society's Funds in accordance with the instruction of the Council.
2. Apply to the President to appoint Auditors, and present the Annual Balance sheet to the Council duly audited before the date of the Annual Meeting;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and Report when requested upon the money affairs of the Society, or in case of absence depute some Member of the Council to act for him, furnishing him with such information and documents as may be necessary;
4. Notify new members of the amount of entrance fee and subscription then due;
5. Collect subscriptions and notify Members of their unpaid subscriptions once in or about January and again in or about June; apply to Agents for the sale of the Society's Transactions in Japan and abroad for payment of sums owing to the Society;
6. Pay out all Monies for the Society under the direction of the Council, making no single payment in excess of Ten Dollars without special vote of the Council;
7. Inform the Librarian when a new Member has paid his entrance fee and first subscription;
8. Submit to the Council at its January Meeting

the names of Members who have not paid their subscription for the past year; and after action has been taken by the Council, furnish the Librarian with the names of any Members to whom the sending of the Transactions is to be suspended or stopped;

9. Prepare for publication the List of Members of the Society.

DUTIES OF LIBRARIAN.

ART. XIV. The Librarian shall:—

1. Take charge of the Society's Library and stock of Transactions, keep its books and periodicals in order, catalogue all additions to the Library, and superintend the binding and preservation of the books;
2. Carry out the Regulations of the Council for the use and lending of the Society's books;
3. Send copies of the Transactions to all Honorary Members, to all Ordinary Members not in arrears for dues according to the list furnished by the Treasurer, and to all Societies and Journals, the names of which are on the list of Exchanges;
4. Arrange with Booksellers and others for the sale of the Transactions as directed by the Council, send the required number of each issue to the appointed agents and keep a record of all such business;
5. Arrange under direction of the Council, new Exchange of the Transactions with Societies and Journals;
6. Draw up List of Exchanges of Journals and of additons to the Library for insertion in the Council's Annual Report;

7. Make additions to the Library as instructed by the Council;
8. Present to the Council at its November Meeting a statement of the stock of Transactions possessed by the Society;
9. Act on the Publication Committee;
10. Attend every Council Meeting and Report on Library matters, or if absent, send to the Corresponding Secretary a statement of any matter of immediate importance.

LIBRARY AND MEETING ROOM.

ART. XV. The Society's Rooms and Library shall be at 1, 4-chome, Ginza, Tōkyō, to which may be addressed all letters and parcels not sent to the private address of Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, or Librarian.

ART. XVI. The Library shall be open to Members for consultation during the day, the keys of the book cases being in the possession of the Librarian or other Members of Council resident in the neighbourhood: and books may be borrowed on applying to the Librarian.

SALE OF TRANSACTIONS.

ART. XVII. A member may obtain at half-price for his own use copies of any Part of the Transactions.

ART. XVIII. The Transactions shall be on sale by Agents approved of by the Council and shall be supplied to these Agents at a discount price fixed by the Council.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

President, H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald, G. K. C. B.; *Vice-Presidents*, for Tōkyō J. McD. Gardiner, Esq.; for Yokohama, H. B. M.'s Consul-General, Mr. J. C. Hall; *Corresponding Secretary*, Professor E. H. Vickers; *Recording Secretary* for Tōkyō, Professor E. W. Clement, for Yokohama, Dr. J. L. Dearing; *Treasurer* R. J. Kirby, Esq.; *Librarian*, Professor A. Lloyd; *Members of Council*, B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., J. H. Gubbins, Esq., Rev. D. C. Greene, D. D., R. S. Miller, Esq., Professor J. T. Swift, Rev. H. H. Guy. Rev. T. M. MacNair, Professor M. Anesaki, Rev. H. St. G. Tucker, Galen M. Fisher, Esq.

NOTICE.

The following resolution recently adopted by the Council is one which should be more widely known.

"Learned Societies and Libraries (not private) may obtain the Transactions of the Society by paying an annual Subscription of three *yen*. If they elect to do so, they may compound the Annual Subscription for a term of thirty years, by a single cash payment of thirty *yen*. They may obtain back numbers at one half the published price."

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Honorary Members.

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Rein, Prof. J. J., Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany.
Satow, G. C, M. G., Sir Ernest M., British Legation, Peking.

Life Members.

Alexander, Rev. R. P., Aoyama Gakuin, Tokyo.
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Andrews, Rev. W., Hakodate.
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Kœber, Prof. Dr. Raphael von, Surugadai, Tokyo.
Koudacheff, Prince, Russian Legation, Tokyo. (absent).
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Wright, H. E Luke E., American Embassy, Tokyo.
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Young, Robt, Japan Chronicle, Kōbe.

APPENDIX A.

List of Papers during the Session of 1906.

1. Japanese Feudal Law: The Institutes of Judicature, by John Carey Hall.
2. Notes on Kamo Chōmei, by Karel Jan Hora.
3. The Study of Korean from the Standpoint of a student of Japanese, by Arthur Hyde Lay.
4. Primitive Culture in Japan, by Dr. N. Gordon Munro.
5. A Summarized Catalogue of the Postage Stamps of Japan, by A. M. Tracey Woodward.
6. History of the Development of shushi Philosophy in Japan, by A. Lloyd.
7. Nameless Selections of Kamo Chōmei, by Karel Jan Hora.
8. Correspondence between William II. of Holland and the Shogun of Japan, A. D. 1844, by Rev. D. C. Greene.
9. Dazai Jun on Gakusei, by R. J. Kirby.

APPENDIX B.

List of Exchanges of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Academy of Natural Sciences, Logan Square, Philadelphia, Pa, U. S. A.
Academy of Sciences, Lincoln Park, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.
American Geographical Society, New York City, U. S. A.
" Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
" Philological Society, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
" Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien, Austria.
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, Sydney.
Bataviasch Genootschap, Batavia, Java.
Buddhist Text Society, Calcutta.
Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.
Bureau of Education, " "
Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Cambridge, England.
Canadian Institute, Toronto.
Chicago, University Press.
Chinese Recorder, Shanghai.
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tokyo. (2)
Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Leipzig.
Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada, Ottawa.
Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.
Imperial Russian Geographical Society, St. Petersburg.
Imperial Library, Uene Park, Tokyo.
Imperial University of Japan, Tokyo.

Imperial University of Kyoto.
Japan Society, London.
Japan Weekly Mail, Tokyo.
Johns Hopkins University Publications, Baltimore, Md., U. S. A.
Journal Asiatique, Paris.
Musée Guimet, Paris.
Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britiain, London.
" " " Bombay Branch.
" " " Ceylon Branch, Colombo.
" " " China Branch, Shanghai.
" " " Straits Branch, Singapore.
Royal Dublin Society, Kildare St., Dublin.
Royal Geographical Society, London.
Royal Society, London.
" " of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland
" " Sydney, New South Wales.
" " Adelaide, South Australia.
Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin C. Am Zeughaus 1.
Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C.
Sociedad Geographica de Madrid, Madrid.
Sociedad de Geographia de Lisbon, Portugal.
Société d'Anthropologie, Paris.
Société Finno-Ugrienne, Helsinfors, Finland, Russia.
State Historical Society, Madison, Wis., U. S. A.
United States Geological Survey, Washington, D. C.
" " Dept. of Agriculture, " "
University of Upsala, Sweden.
Verein für Erdkunde zu Leipzig.
Wisconsin Academy of Sciences Arts and Letters, Madison, Wis, U. S. A.

APPENDIX C.

Thirty Year Subscribers.

Dartmonth College, New Hampshire, U. S. A. until 1934.
Lincei Museum, Rome, Italy, until 1935.
New York State Library, Albany, N. Y., U. S. A. until 1935.
Public Library, Portland, Ore., U. S. A. until 1934.

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